THE LIFE OF AUGUSTUS CÆSAR,

Containing the most

Remarkable Events of that Age.

WITH

A General Idea of the Manners of the *Roman* People under his Reign, and the Plan of his Government and Politics.

To which is prefix'd, by way of *Introduction*,

A Short and Clear View of the FIRST TRIUMVIRATE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

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THE LIFE OF AUGUSTUS.

PART I.

BOOK I.

THOUGH Julius Cæsar be acknowledged [a] the first of those famous sovereigns of the world, who reduced the Roman republic to the form of a monarchy, it is notwithstanding true, that he only laid the foundation of that empire, which Augustus finished in all its order and beauty. Thus he did

[a] *Appian, Plutarch, Suetonius.*

execute his resolution. His stature was something below a medium, but so well proportioned, that none perceived this defect, but when he was near a taller person. Nature had imprinted on his body certain characters, which seemed to have something supernatural in them; for the north-star with all its attendants were visible upon his stomach; as if this star, which is more exalted than others, was the symbol of his elevation, and being the rule of pilots, a sign of his government.

He was but four years old when his father died [a]; yet he recovered him again in the person of Julius Cæsar his uncle, who took a particular care of his education, and, having no children of his own, adopted him afterwards. There is great probability he had design'd him for his successor in the empire, which he governed under the title of dictator.

It is certain he was brought up at least in great hopes; for at the age of seventeen Julius Cæsar made him wear the latus clavus, which is a robe of purple, that the senators sons had not a title to till they were five-and-twenty; as if he had designed by this distinction to raise him above those who pretended to be the leaders of the republic. What happened to young Octavius in this ceremony, confirmed the hopes which they had conceived of his grandeur; for this robe

[a] *Plutarch, Suetonius, Appian.*

loosen-

loosening at his shoulders, fell on a sudden at his feet; and when his friends appeared astonished at this accident, which they took for a bad omen, he cried out in a contrary sentiment, that he had the senate under his feet. Julius Cæsar declared his intention in the choice which he had made of Octavius for his general[a] of horse, in consequence of that power which he had as dictator of naming a person for this great employment[b]. For putting thus all authority into his own hands and his nephew's, he not only established his own power, in a manner not to be opposed by any one, but he assured the reversion and inheritance to Octavius.

He had no design of carrying him withhim in that famous expedition, which he meditated against the Parthians, when he thought of marching with a powerful army, to revenge the death of Crassus. For, finding him too young, he made his place be filled up by officers who took it by turns.

Those hopes in which they saw him brought up, drew every day to Apollonia, where he was, persons who came to make their addresses to him. Those of the province made it their study to please him, and officers in the army, who had their quarters in Macedonia, came incessantly to him, to divert him with horse-races and tournaments,

[a] *Magister equitum.* [b] *Appian.*

exercises which he loved to an extremity of passion.

It was in this agreeable retirement [a], where he thought not only of diverting, but rendring himself worthy the amity of Cæsar, when he was informed of the death of this dictator, which seemed in probability to ruin all his hopes [b].

He was not yet full nineteen years old, and in so youthful an age he could scarce have conducted himself with necessary prudence, in so delicate and important a conjuncture, without the advantages of his education. He was astonished at first at such a thunder-stroke, and feared that Cæsar had been assaulted in a general revolt of all the citizens, as the two Gracchi had been in the preceding age, for having made themselves too popular, and so incurring the hatred of the patricians. But having understood, that the senate durst not openly abet the assassines, and that the people had a horror of them, he recovered from his astonishment, and took the resolution to go to Rome, whither his mother and father-in-law invited him. In the mean time they exhorted him in their letters to practise dissimulation, not thinking it was yet a proper time to publish his adoption, or shew his resentment against the murderers of his uncle,

[a] *This was in the year 710, from the foundation of Rome.* [b] *Dion Appian, Suetonius, Plutarch.*

because

because he had not an army to oppose against them. But Octavius reasoning in another manner, thought he could not shew himself too soon to the people and the army, as the lawful heir both of their dictator and general, for fear they might give a head to the empire, which could not now do without one.

He therefore departed from Apollonia in a frigate to come to Rome. He passed the Ionian sea, and instead of landing at Brundusium (for the garison was suspected by him) he landed at Lupi, a little town which at present is known by the name of La Rocca; where he continued till he had received second advice from his friends, that things passed pretty favorably at Rome; that Cæsar's testament had been published, and all his laws authorized.

He balanced no longer after this news, but went directly to Brundusium, after that he had sounded the garison, who assured him of their loyal intention. The officers who came to meet him having saluted him by the name of his adoption, he took it for a good omen, and not to render himself unworthy, he assumed the name of Cæsar from that very time. A great concourse of all the old servants of the dictator flocked to him daily. His slaves, his freedmen, and the all officers, who had served in his army, that were at Brundusium, and in the neighbourhood, came in crouds to offer him their service, and take the oath of fidelity.

He departed thence, accompanied by a light guard of officers and volunteers, that increased daily in the journey [a]. Being come to Terracinum, he understood that the senate under hand favored the murderers of his father, but that the consul and the people were filled with indignation at it. He therefore hasted to reach Rome, where having entered without noise, and given orders for the lodging of his attendants, he went and lighted at the house of his father-in-law. There was betwixt him and Accia his mother, a long conversation upon the subject of the public affairs, and the measures which were proper to be taken. Philip his father-in-law would not have had him shew any resentment for the death of Cæsar, much less demand vengeance of it: and representing to him the disaffection of the senate, and inconstancy of the people, he added, that Antony, who had an absolute credit with the legions, had demonstrated, that his design was not to join him, or support his interest, because he had sent no one to meet him, though he was not ignorant of his coming. Accia had very near the same conversation with him; in which she shew'd her fear and her affection: but continuing firm in his resolution, he said, that he should be unworthy of the adoption of Cæsar, if he did not revenge his death; and finish'd with those passionate words, so full of courage and affection, which Achilles spoke

[a] *Dion, Appian.*

for-

formerly to Thetis, concluding, with great energy:

Yes——I will meet the murd'rer of my friend,
Or, if the gods ordain it, meet my end.

POPE.

Accia being thus overcome by his reason and fixt resolution, opposed no longer his design, but only exhorted him to join prudence with intrepidity and enterprize.

Thus finished this conversation; at the end of which, young *Cæsar* went to visit his particular friends, and, having communicated to them what he resolved to do upon the day following; he prayed them to inform others, and meet him all together early in the morning, in the forum. He was there one of the first, and when he saw them assembled he said: "That he ought no less to pre-
"caution himself against Antony than a-
"gainst Brutus and his accomplices; because
"under a pretence of having a regard for
"the memory of Cæsar, he affected the
"command of the army, and government
"of the republic, without much interesting
"himself at the bottom, in revenging his
"death; that on the contrary, he entered
"into treaties of pacification with the very
"murderers of his benefactor, and had au-
"thorized, by his presence, those decrees
"of the senate, wherein he presided, which
"it had barbarously given in their favor;

" but that he was resolved to speak with
" him, and oblige him to an explicit decla-
" ration of his real sentiments, and what
" part he was determined to take."

His friends approving of his resolution, would accompany him to Antony, who lived in a beautiful house of Pompey's which he held of Cæsar's liberality. The consul being told of his coming, with which he was not pleased, because he guessed the cause, sent nobody to meet him, and let him wait some time at the door, as if he design'd to refuse him audience. But Cæsar dissembling this injury, after he was introduced, spoke to him in this manner, " My father (for the rank
" which you held in the friendship of him
" who adopted me, obliges me to call you
" so), I come to thank you for what you have
" done to honor the memory of Cæsar; but
" I come likewise to complain of the change
" that has been seen on a sudden in your
" conduct in favor of his murderers. You
" have sent them safeguards, to hinder the
" people from setting fire to their houses;
" you have favored their retreat, and even
" decreed the provinces of Cyrene, and the
" island of Crete, to Brutus and Cassius,
" and suffered Decimus to keep the province
" of Gaul, which he ought to have forfeit-
" ed by the death of Cæsar, who procured
" him that government. Is not this, to pull
" down with one hand what you build with
" the other, and overthrow the very altar
" which

" which you had raiſed to Cæſar? I ſpeak
" to you, Antony, with the freedom which
" your age and conſulſhip may ſeem to for-
" bid me; but you ought to make ſome
" conſideration of that rank which Cæſar's
" adoption has given me a title to. I have ſtill
" a favor to ask of you: you have ſeen his
" laſt will and deſire, which Lucius Piſo or-
" dered to be read ſolemnly in the preſence
" of the people; and that nothing may be
" wanting in formality, I have juſt now
" communicated it according to our laws,
" to your brother the prætor, whom I met
" in coming hither. Thus Cæſar's eſtate be-
" longs to me, becauſe he has choſen me
" his heir: I therefore pray you to reſtore
" me the four thouſand talents which you
" made be carried to your own houſe, for
" fear they might be pillaged, to the end
" that I may pay a part of the legacies left
" to the Roman people, and the legions. But
" this is not ſufficient, and as you have
" ſeized upon the money, which he had
" taken from the public treaſury to defray
" the expences which he muſt neceſſarily be
" at in his intended war with the Parthians, I
" deſire you to put them into my hands af-
" ter the manner of a loan, that I may ful-
" fil the teſtament of Cæſar; and I will oblige
" myſelf to repayment as ſoon as I have re-
" ceived the money for the ſale of my
" inheritance, which I am going to diſpoſe
" of. Beſides, it ſeems to me, that I have

" ſome

" ſome natural right to thoſe riches which
" the republic was indebted to his liberality
" for." What gave room to Octavius of ſpeaking thus, was, that it was a known thing, that when the dictator triumphed over Gaul, Afric, Egypt, and Pharnaces, they carried before him ſixty-five thouſand talents, and two thouſand crowns in gold, of the booty of his enemies; and that after the ſolemnity of his triumph, he order'd all thoſe riches to be carried to the public treaſury. Antony being of a violent nature, anſwer'd in theſe terms: I pardon your age, ſuch an
" indiſcreet diſcourſe. You ſhould have in-
" formed yourſelf better of facts, and then
" you would have found nothing to blame
" in my conduct. If I have conſented to
" the decrees given by the ſenate in favor
" of the murderers of Cæſar, I did it out of
" policy, that I might appeaſe the minds of
" the people irritated by the eloquence of
" the conſpirators; for comparing their
" action to that of the firſt deliverers of the
" republic, and Cæſar, whom they had aſ-
" ſaſſinated, to Tarquin, whom thoſe patriots
" had baniſhed from Rome, they wonder-
" fully began to work upon the populace.
" But by feigning to favor Brutus and
" Caſſius, I ſaved Cæſar's honor. I ſuffered
" indeed the ſenate to provide for their own
" ſecurity, to the end that I might by the ſame
" decree confirm his acts, and pay to his
" body the laſt duties of a ſepulchre. As
" for

" for what remains, I am ready to refund " the money that belonged to Cæsar; but " for what he had taken from the treasury, " I am obliged to return it thither, as the " senate has ordered; and you are not to " think that your adoption gives you any " right to the funds of the republic. You " carry your pretensions too far, and I hope " I may give you one piece of advice, which " you ought to have learn'd in the schools of " Greece: It is not to be carried away with " the torrent of popularity and ambition."

Cæsar was touched to the quick with this answer, and left Antony immediately, after having told him, he had believed indeed to have found a more friendly assistance in his amity, but since he had given him so cold a denial, he was going to sell his estate instantly to discharge the legacies of his adopted father. Which he did as soon as possible. It happened a few days afterwards, that Antony the prætor having taken upon him the exhibition of those games and shews which Brutus was to gratify the populace with in his prætorship, he caused them to be celebrated with all the magnificence possible, adding splendid feasts to the spectacle, and donations to these entertainments[a]; for he was an intimate friend of Brutus, and as zealous for the republic and government, as his brother was the contrary. These games happened precisely at the time when Cæsar distributed the money he had received from the

[a] *Dion, Appian.*

sale

ſale of his fortune, and that inheritance which he had by his ſucceſſion to the dictator: to which he added what he raiſed from the inheritances which his mother and father-in-law made him a preſent of, to the end he might fill up thoſe ſums he had occaſion for, amounting as they did to ſeveral millions; for Julius Cæſar had left by his will three hundred ſeſterces a head to the *Roman* people, ſo that there were in all more than five hundred thouſand legatees[e]. This magnificence gained him in ſuch ſort the affections of the people, that they would not ſuffer the propoſal, which the friends of Brutus and Caſſius made to them, of having theſe latter recalled to Rome; and running to that place of the theatre where this junto and cabal was aſſembled, they diſſipated them immediately, and put an end to the games till all the tribunes had declared themſelves againſt the re-eſtabliſhment of the conſpirators. Brutus and Caſſius being adviſed of this, thought of nothing now but of retiring into their ancient governments of Syria and Macedonia, pretending that Antony and Dolabella could not give them in exchange thoſe of Cyrene and Crete, and proteſting againſt the validity of that decree which had been extorted from the ſenate.

[e] *They reckoned more than four millions of inhabitants in Rome.*

They

They therefore passed over into Asia, and by this invasion broke the league which they had secretly made with Antony, and kindled again the flames of war all over the empire. But Cæsar, content with having divided his enemies, waited till the republic, troubled by their dissensions, should cast their eyes on him, and calling him in to their assistance, put into his hands the command of their armies. His youth hindering him from having a share in public employments, he remained quiet at Rome, observing the motions of those two factions, who then divided the armies and provinces: and making shew of a studied moderation, and refined disinterestedness, he render'd himself by this conduct, as agreeable both to the people and the senate, as Antony made himself daily more and more hated by his ambition, debauches and tyrannical nature. He yet omitted nothing that might be serviceable to the right of his adoption; nor can any thing be imagined bolder than what he did in the games which an ædile in entering upon his employment exhibited to the people [e].

Upon the festival day he caused early in the morning the statue of Julius Cæsar, placed in a chair of state, with a crown of gold enriched with precious stones upon its head, to be carried to the most eminent part of the amphitheatre. This ædile, who was none of

[e] *Dion, Appian, Plutarch.*

his

his friends, not being able to bear the ſight, ſaid he would never permit, that in a feaſt that was made at his expence, and deſigned to divert the people, any one ſhould employ them in paying homages and ſervile adorations to Cæſar. This diſpute growing warm, becauſe the young Cæſar, would maintain the authority of the ſenate's decree, it was neceſſary to come before the tribunal of Antony. Octavius grounded his proceedings upon a decree which the ſenate had given, the day after the murder of Julius Cæſar, to appeaſe the people, whom the bloody body of the dictator had ſtirred up to a mutiny. This decree ordered, that they ſhould pay him the ſame honors after his death, as if he were living, and that in all public games, and ſolemn aſſemblies his image ſhould preſide there, having a crown of gold upon its head. Antony had been himſelf the author of the decree; but, becoming jealous of the affection the people ſhew'd to young Cæſar, he gave ſentence againſt him, and received favorably the oppoſition of the ædile.

Octavius being provoked at the outrage, which he thought Antony had done to his father, put in his proteſt upon the ſpot before the people; but ſome time after their mutual friends reconciled them again: to make this union more durable, they obliged Cæſar to marry Clodia, daughter-in-law of Antony, whom Fulvia his wife had had by Clodius, her firſt husband, perſuading themſelves that this bond uniting their families, would alſo

unite

unite their minds. Yet this did not happen; for Fulvia, being a haughty-temper'd woman, did not hate Cæsar the less, and she obliged him at last, by her intrigues, to send back her daughter, as we will shew in the sequel of this history.

In the mean time, Cæsar, attached by his alliance to Antony, promised to employ all his credit to obtain for him the government of Gaul, and drive thence Decimus, who had been one of the conspirators. He kept his word to him; and the people, gained over by his solicitations, in spite of the senate, revoked the power of Decimus, and substituted in his place Antony, who prepared himself to go into Gaul with his army. [a] And as it was then in Macedonia, whither he had intended to go before Brutus and Cassius had possessed themselves of his province, he sent his orders to call it back, and embarked the troops upon the Ionian sea.

Whilst these things were transacting at Rome, Dolabella, lieutenant of the Cæsarean party, had entered upon Asia, to declare war against Brutus and Cassius. The people of Pergamus and Smyrna shut their gates against him without having regard to his dignity of consul, being encouraged by Trenobius, lieutenant of the conspirators. But Dolbella having surprised him in Smyrna, ordered his head to be struck off to punish him for the murder of Julius Cæsar; for Trebo-

[a] *Dion*, *Appian*.

nius

nius was one of the accomplices, and he boasts of it in one of his letters he writes to Cicero, praying him not to forget him in an apology for the conspiracy, which he published. This was the first of the conspirators upon whom the vengeance of the Cæsarean party fell: The others perished soon after in the same manner, or killed themselves with their own hands, or made some other tragical conclusion [b]. But Antony spoke no more of his journey into Gaul [c]. The army that was come from Macedonia had landed in Italy, and he had got the title of general confirmed to him by the senate, in gratitude for the edict which he had published before his laying down his employment, that no one for the future should be elected dictator. Yet he did not trust to the senate, by whom he knew very well he was not loved; nor to the alliance of Cæsar, whose excessive popularity gave him disquiet: and he durst not leave Rome.

Antony was possessed of very fine qualities, and had received great advantages from nature, as well as from fortune. He was of so illustrious a birth, that he drew his original from Hercules; was well made in his person, had a noble air, and all the manners of a man of quality. He had an agreeable humour, an easy wit, and did not want politeness, though he was more a soldier than a

[a] *Suetonius.* [c] *Dion, Appian.*

cour-

courtier, as Cleopatra jestingly raillied him one day. He was liberal to prodigality, and magnificent to luxury; valiant and powerful, and so experienced a captain, that at the famous battle of Pharsalia Julius Cæsar himself would divide with him the honor of command, having taken the right wing himself, and entrusted the left to his care. He was a near relation of the dictator, his mother being of the antient family of the Julii. Upon which account Julius Cæsar had admitted him to his confidence, and honored him with the principal employments of the republic. He had designed that he should have accompanied him to the senate on the fatal day of the ides of March, which he apprehended, but could not avoid. And the conspirators who feared Antony's courage, sent Trebonius to him, who amused him with discourse at the entry of the court whilst they executed their tragical design.

But [e] Antony had great defects, mixed withhis good qualities, being violent and cruel, abandoning himself to the love of women, and continual excess of wine; using his courage imprudently, often losing the fruit of his own victories; loved indeed by the soldiers to whom the vices of a general are oftentimes more pleasing than his victories; but hated by the senate for the same reason, and more feared than loved by the people whom he had oftentimes treated with great severity.

[e] *Dion, Appian, Suetonius.*

Such

Such was the perſon of Antony, and ſuch the opinion they had of him. He was not ignorant of this; but his greateſt uneaſineſs came from the love that the people had for Cæſar, and he could not diſſemble it upon an occaſion whereby the ſenate and he were both equally ſurpriſed. One of the tribunes in employment being dead, [a] Octavius made intereſt for the place, ſome ſay for Flaminius, and others for himſelf. Whatever was the truth, the people believing it was for himſelf, declared they would make him tribune; notwithſtanding his age fell ſhort of the law, which they had a power of diſpenſing with. Antony, uniting himſelf upon this occaſion with the ſenate, made a decree that forbad the people this infraction of the law under rigorous penalties; but the people, being provoked with this oppoſition, proteſted loudly that they would have their rights. So that the day of election being come, the moſt warm among them ſurrounding the tribunal of Antony, demanded of him ſternly with threats the revoking of the decree. Antony, wavering betwixt fear and reſentment, would not revoke it; but he told them they might make it null by their tribune, which they did upon the ſpot.

Yet Cæſar would not have diſſenſions go further[b], and believing that it was more glorious and ſecure for himſelf to be united with

[a] *Appian.* [b] *Suetonius.*

the

the patrician nobility, than to be allied with the people, he ceased to make interest for plebeian employments, and reconciled himself to the senate.

To this reconciliation succeeded that of Antony with Cæsar, which was effected by the officers in the army, in a very solemn manner, in the capitol.

But they did not continue any long time in good intelligence; for a few days after Antony spread a report, that Cæsar had only reconciled himself with him to destroy him with more security, and that he had bribed his own guards to assassinate him [a]. Cæsar called the gods to be witnesses of his innocency, and avengers of violated alliance against Antony, who not content with breaking through the obligations of friendship a third time, had a mind to draw upon him the hatred of the people by a supposed crime; wherefore he knocked loudly at his gate, defying him to appear, and make good his assertion. Antony not daring to come out, no one doubted of his calumny.

He saw with inward grief the injury he had done himself, and learnt at the same time that the legions which he had ordered from Macedonia, and put in garison at Brundusium, and the neighbourhood round it, began to murmur because they were not employed. He hasted therefore to leave Rome, that he might satisfy their desires, and went immediately to the garison.

[a] *Appian.*

Cæsar

Cæſar on his ſide fearing leſt Antony ſhould return to Rome with an army, and make himſelf maſter of the people and ſenate, went into Campania to the colonies of Julius Cæſar to raiſe levies.[c] The memory of the dictator's benefactions ſtill freſh in their minds, having made him find the inhabitants diſpoſed to grant him a levy of ten thouſand men, he returned ſpeedily to Rome with this little army. But upon a new propoſition of accommodation made by the officers of Antony, he diſmiſſed this militia, and only retained a thouſand men about him, with which he took a journey to Ravennæ, well aſſured of the affection of the ſenate and the Roman knights, who all ſwore never to abandon him.

Antony did not correſpond with this frankneſs[d]. For after having made ſome changes in his army, of ſuch as had ſhewn too much affection for Octavius, baniſhed or broke the moſt ſuſpected, and having gained over the others by his bounty, he made them all take the way towards Gaul, and returned to Rome, where he overthrew all that Cæſar had done. Having convened the ſenate, he complained of the oath they had taken to Cæſar, and ſpoke with ſo much authority and violence, that all the ſenators and Roman knights took an oath quite contrary. This being done, he

[c] *Dion, Appian.* [d] *Appian.*

de-

departed from Rome, and went to join his army which waited for him at Rimini. But the ſenate and Roman knights were very glad to hear that Cæſar was in a condition to diſengage them from the oath which they had taken to Antony againſt their inclinations.

Cæſar returning from Ravennæ was at Alba with five legions, when he received this news. He wrote immediately to the ſenate to complain of their inconſtancy, exhorting them to eſpouſe his intereſt, and aſſuring them, that they had nothing to fear from Antony, becauſe he had ſufficient forces to defend them. Cæſar's letters were read with a general applauſe, and one ſaw a quick return of all the ſenate and the Roman knights to his party. They were inclined to this by that averſion they had conceived for Antony; but they believed likewiſe, that Cæſar would favor with his army the election of new conſuls, againſt the intrigues and violence of Antony's cabal. They writ in anſwer to his letter, after having aſſured him that they were all in his intereſt: And Cæſar promiſed them to cover the city of Rome with his army, and preſerve them from the invaſion of their common enemy, in ſuch ſort, that the day of election being come, the ſenate diſpoſed the people to name Hirtius and Panſa; [a] of whom Cicero gives this teſtimony in his letters, that they were the very conſuls the republic had wiſhed. This election was followed by a

[a] *Dion, Appian.*

decree

decree [k] against Antony, who had laid siege to Modena, the capital city of Cisalpine Gaul; from which he had a mind to drive Decimus, who had shut himself up in that place to defend it, and maintain himself in his government. The senate, who protected Decimus, order'd Antony to raise the siege, and quit the province, after having surrendered up his army into the hands of the new consuls.

There was no mention made of Cæsar in this decree; but the senate, who had occasion for his legions, and designed to keep him in their interest, made another, whereby they allowed him to ask the consulship, ten years sooner than was permitted by law; and which ordered that in gratitude to his services, their should be erected a golden statue for him in the amphitheatre, when he should exhibit his games to the people. He saw clearly the senate did not seek his friendship but because they stood in need of him, and perceiving them still affectioned to the party of the conspirators, he took no less umbrage at their conduct than at that of Antony, not thinking of making use of one, but with a design of ruining the other. He hesitated no longer when the senate provoked by the murder of Trebonius, at the sight of his dead body which was brought to Rome, proscribed Dolabella, and declared him an open enemy of the republic. But dissembling with great policy his discontent, he applied intirely to the gaining the

[k] *Year of Rome* 711.

affec-

affection of the legions; an infallible method of rendering all the sinister intentions of the senate useless.

He therefore march'd directly against Antony, and his army saluting him by the name of Imperator to equal him with the other general, he refused the title either out of moderation or prudence.

But Antony having seen this decree of the senate [a] said to the deputies, "that he could "not obey it, nor did believe that his refusal "could make him a rebel to the republic, "because this decree which they brought "him, was the machination and will of Ci-"cero his mortal enemy, and not that of a "free and disinterested senate."

The deputies brought in the report, and the senate animated by Cicero declared Antony an emeny of the commonwealth, and ordered the consuls to make war upon him. They confirmed likewise by the same decree the title of the government of Macedonia and Illyrium to Brutus, and that of Syria to Cassius [b], revoking that exchange which Antony would have had made of these provinces with those of Cyrene and Crete. The senate gave likewise to those two generals the absolute command of their armies, which they were to exercise conjointly, and conferred the charge upon Cassius of pursuing Dolabella. This decree astonished Cæsar no less than

[a] *Appian.* [b] *Appian.*

Antony; and the former after a ſhort reflection thought he was to change nothing in his form or reſolution, and that after having raiſed the ſiege of Modena, it would be eaſy for him to turn againſt the conſpirators thoſe arms which the ſenate had truſted him with againſt Antony.

The event ſhew'd by the conſequence that he had reaſoned right.

Decimus was reduced to great ſtreights in Modena by Antony's army; [a] the beſieged who would hear of no capitulation, expected daily the taking of the city, when Hirtius and Cæſar appeared with the troops of the republic. They pitch'd their camp over-againſt that of Antony, with a reſolution to give him battle, or to throw ſuccours into the place. But this general having a mind to avoid the firſt, put himſelf in a condition of hindering the ſecond, pretending to carry the place in the ſight of the conſul without the effuſion of blood; yet thought and diſpoſed of things otherwiſe, and engaged him in a battle which he could have ſhunn'd. For Antony having had information, that Panſa with a light eſcort was coming to join the army, conceived a deſign of taking him priſoner; and drawing off ſecretly with two legions, had ſurpriſed him, if Hirtius had not ſent the martial legion with the Prætorian cohort to meet his collegue. This ſuccour joined the conſul in

[a] *Appian.*

the

the very time that Antony appeared; this accident was more dangerous than either of them had thought. Pansa was mortally wounded, and forced to retire; the prætorian cohort was cut to pieces, and the legion reduced to a half could no longer support the change of the enemy. But Hirtius coming up with new troops made the face of the battle change, and fell with such impetuosity upon the victorious army that all the valour of Antony could not hinder a total defeat. He had great difficulty to save himself, and did not escape with the wreck of his troops but by the favor of the night, and crossing ditches full of water, over which Hirtius did not think it proper to pursue him. Antony mortified at this defeat, continued firm in his first resolution, of carrying on the siege of Modena without going out of his camp. But a second accident which he could not avoid, engaged him two days after in a general battle, wherein he was again defeated and forced to raise the siege. The affair happened thus:

Cæsar having made Hirtius observe that it was impossible to force the camp of Antony, on that side where they were posted, but that marching their troops and retiring behind the mountain that cover'd the city, they might throw succours into the town by that passage, which the enemy had left unfortified trusting to the advantageousness of the place, this advice was followed, and the consul marched at the head of two legions. Cæsar followed him

with the rest of the army, with a resolution of forcing his camp, or giving him battle while the consul should relieve the town with new forces. Antony made full speed with his horse to oppose Hirtius, and drew out two legions to bear the attack of Cæsar. But seeing them give way, he was forced to draw out all his troops from their intrenchments, and range them in form of battle. This battle was more obstinate and bloody than the former. Hirtius, piercing Antony's army overthrew all that he met in his passage; but as he let himself be carried away with the ardor of his courage, he fell amongst a squadron that surrounded him, where he lost his life in fighting valiantly with those who followed him. The consuls death however did not make the soldiers lose heart, and Cæsar forcing his way to the place where Hirtius was slain, ordered his body to be carried off. He had like to have perished himself upon this occasion, being only followed by a small number of the bravest men and best affectioned to him; and Antony coming up with the choice of his horse was going to surround him, if the legions who knew his danger had not hasted to his succour. The battle being thus renewed was continued all the day without any one's being able to perceive to which side victory inclined. Antony gave the usual marks of his courage; and Cæsar in an extraordinary manner signalized his own. [a] He was seen in the

[a] *Suetonius.*

very

very heat of the battle, loaded with a ſtandard which an enſign-bearer to a legion could no longer hold, on account of his wounds and loſs of blood, and he expoſed himſelf in all places where his preſence was neceſſary.

They were ſo animated againſt one another that there was nothing but night could ſeparate the two armies. Neither of the generals paſſed it in repoſe. Cæſar employed it in viſiting the wounded, and encouraging the ſoldiers for the action of the day following. Antony held a general council of the principal officers of the army, and though the greateſt part were of opinion, that keeping himſelf in his camp, he ſhould wait for the coming of Ventidius and Plancus, who were marching up to him with five legions, he had ſtill ſo great an apprehenſion, leſt Cæſar, returning to the charge might force his lines, and finiſh his defeat, that he followed the advice of thoſe who counſelled him to retire, and about the third watch of the night he marched ſilently out with all his army, keeping his fires kindled to conceal his departure. Thus was the famous ſiege of Modena raiſed, and Decimus delivered in that point of time when he thought he ſhould have fallen into the hands of Antony.

But he was no leſs apprehenſive of falling into the hands of Cæſar,[f] who being his deliverer indeed, was alſo the ſon of the perſon

[f] *Dion, Appian.*

he had maſſacred. He ſent his deputies to excuſe himſelf for the murder, and caſt the odium of it upon the other conſpirators; notwithſtanding failing of courage to expect Cæſar at Modena, he had left the place, and paſſed the river. But Cæſar anſwered the deputies, that though he could neither admit of the excuſes, nor ſee the murderer of his father, yet he ſhould reſpect the orders of the ſenate. In effect, though he was in a condition of purſuing him, and taking his life, he yet left him in the government, and retiring from Gaul took the direct way to Bologna, where he went to ſee Panſa whom he found dying of his wounds.

The conſul ſhewed an extreme ſatisfaction in ſeeing him [f]; and having deſired thoſe who were in the chamber to leave them to themſelves, he made him ſit down and ſaid, "That "he praiſed the gods, who had ſent him "ſo opportunely, that before his death he "might diſcover to him an important ſe-"cret. After this ſtruggling with his extreme weakneſs, he added, "That the zeal and af-"fection which he always had for Julius Cæ-"ſar, had always made him look upon with "horror, that conſpiracy which had brought "him to his end: that he had for the ſon "the ſame affection which he had for the fa-"ther, and that he would give him a con-"vincing proof, by diſcovering to him the

[f] *Appian.*

"diſ-

"disaffection of the senate, and the "instructions which he had received from "them. For I had orders continued he, to "watch over your conduct and the senate had "not sent my collegue and me, but that the "presence of two consuls drawing all the "respect of allegiance, you might remain "without credit. It becomes your pru-"dence to profit by this advice: and if you "will believe me, you will renew your "friendship with Antony, against a faction "in conspiracy to ruin you both." His words failed him in concluding this discourse, and soon after he expired. Cæsar sent his body, and that of Hirtius to Rome, with a relation of all that had passed at the raising the siege of Modena, but cautiously dissembled his resentment.

His letters having been read, the senate shewed more satisfaction for the deliverance of Decimus and the defeat of Antony, than grief for the death of the two consuls. Above them all Cicero shewed an excessive joy, and ordered fifty days of procession and public prayer. They added to this decree, that during the interregnum and till the election of the new consuls, Decimus should have the command of the armies with the title of imperator, to authorize him the more in that war which the senate charged him to continue against Antony without speaking of Cæsar any more than if he had no part in the expedition.

We have reason to be astonish'd at a decree which appears so little conformable to the wisdom of the senate, who ought to have managed Cæsar, and to the true sentiment of Cicero, who bore him witness that he had saved the commonwealth on this occasion. But the weak complaisance which Cicero [d] had for Brutus, obliged him to draw it up in this form. For Cicero having written to him what had passed, in terms too natural to that orator, that extolled Cæsar to the very heavens, Brutus had answered him, perhaps with some jealousy, that he did not approve of those immoderate praises, and that it would be better for him to endeavour after the means of humbling the ambition of Octavius than thus to nourish his pride by excessive honors and adulation. In other respects Cæsar was not surprised to hear of the resolution of the senate, whose bad intention towards him he had always experienced; and this new injury confirm'd him in his opinion of the sincerity of Pansa's advice.

I thought I owed this illustration to the history of Augustus, about a matter of fact which has not hitherto been well known, and which seemed to me important enough to dwell a little upon. In the mean time Cæsar not willing to precipitate things, pretended to an absolute ignorance of the

[d] *Vide Cicero's Epistles.*

designs

designs of the senate, and sent to desire that they would grant him the title of imperator, which he had refused from the army, with the permission of putting up for the consulship, though he had not the full age required by law.

But the senate refused these demands [e], whilst they loaded with honors Brutus and Cassius, dignifying them by pompous praise, with the titles of protectors and deliverers of their country, and giving them a plenary power of receiving all the taxes and duties of their provinces for discharging the expence of the war. It was now high time that Cæsar, benefiting himself by the advice of Pansa, should think seriously of his own preservation; for the conspirators fortified themselves considerably, and the principal cities of Macedonia and Asia embraced their party, with several legions who came to take the oaths of fidelity to them. Four legions deserted at once and left Dolabella: And Antony's brother having seen those soldiers slain or gone over to the enemy, which he commanded, lost at last his own life. Antony who reasoned very near in the same manner as Cæsar, and had more disquiet in his mind, represented to him the power of the conspirators which ought to be equally suspected by them; and how Brutus and Cassius with twenty legions

[e] *Dion, Appian.*

were preparing to pass over into Italy, as soon as they had reduced Asia under their obedience.

Cæsar saw clearly the necessity of friendship with Antony; but he did not judge it prudent to break with the senate, in the condition he found himself, deprived of any command in the army. As he was in this perplexity, they brought him news, that the senate had re-established him in his employment; for as Lepidus had joined Antony with seven legions, the senate apprehended Decimus alone would not have sufficient authority against two such powerful and experienced commanders; wherefore they associated to him Cæsar, with an equal and alternative power. The senate believed, by this means, to win over Cæsar [g], and to make him amends for the consulship they had refused him, without making a reflection, that they thus put him in a condition of obtaining it in spite of them.

This was what his friends and officers in the army counselled him to do [h]; but he gave them for answer, that he would not proceed to this extremity all at once; but, forgetting the indignities which he had received from particulars that were disaffected to him, he would always respect the authority of so august a body as the senate: That therefore he was resolved to send new depu-

[g] *Appian.* [h] *Appian, Suetonius.*

ties,

ties, who might remonſtrate afreſh the equity of his demands; and make appear to the enemies he had in that ſeat of judicature, that they would oppoſe themſelves to no purpoſe.

The deputies having performed their commiſſion, ſurpriſed the aſſembly not a little by the boldneſs of their diſcourſe [i]: But they received for anſwer from the ſenate what they had already declared, that Cæſar was not as yet qualified by age and law. The deputies replied with warmth, that that difficulty was trifling, ſince Corvinus and Scipio, in the antient commonwealth, and Pompey and Dolabella ſince, had been freed from ſuch an exception. Upon this it being replied, That theſe were violations of law that ought to be corrected, rather than examples ſet for imitation; and the ſenate perſiſting in their denial, one of them laid his hand to the guard of his ſword: "You refuſe then, ſaid he, the conſulſhip to Cæſar; but this and friendſhip ſhall give it him." It is ſaid, that Cicero replied, with emotion: "Is it thus you ask it? You will then obtain it." The deputies, upon their return, making their report to Cæſar, he ſaw clearly, that he muſt of neceſſity break with the ſenate. He therefore reſolved, without delay, to march his army directly for Rome: And as it was then beyond

[i] *Dion, Appian, Suetonius, Plutarch.*

the

the Rubicon, over-against that place where Julius Cæsar passed his army, when he was determined to march against Pompey, the soldiers drew from it a good omen, for the success of their enterprize. Octavius, after the example of his adopted father, having passed the Rubicon, came to Rome by great marches. The senate being frighted, sent to him, to assure him of their good intentions [k]; but scarce were they departed, when the cabal of the conspirators, taking an opportunity, from the arrival of two legions from Africa, declared it was a shameful thing to have sent deputies to Cæsar, in the manner which the senate had done; and that it was downright delivering him up the commonwealth: But that the gods, in pity to the republic, had sent them those legions, which had just landed; and which they ought to distribute over the principal parts of the city, and prepare for a vigorous defence. This advice was received by the greatest number with applause, in spite of all opposition from the most prudent. There was still in the city one legion, that Torquatus, lieutenant of Pansa, had brought thither, after the death of the consul. These troops were disposed over mount Janiculus, and in other places which they thought proper to fortify. Bnt this resolution lasted no longer than while Cæsar's army was out of sight;

[k] *Dion, Appian.*

for

for as ſoon as it appeared, they changed their language, and thought of nothing but appeaſing him.

The ſenate upon this ſent him new deputies; which he would not vouchſafe to hear, but marching conſtantly without obſtacle, he entered Rome, amidſt the acclamations of the people and ſoldiers, who all came to ſubmit to him. The knights and ſenators came alſo in crouds to compliment him; and the very prætors, who had the ſovereign command in the city till the nomination of new conſuls, came to congratulate him on his happy arrival, in terms of a very humble and ſubmiſſive nature. Cicero, who had hid himſelf, waiting the event of theſe motions [l], came the laſt of all; and endeavoured to juſtify himſelf by a very ſtudied diſcourſe, in which his fear appeared as much as his eloquence. He eſcaped for a panic; and Cæſar was content with telling him, that he was come the laſt of his enemies to pay him a viſit.

Thus Octavius, more happy than his father had been, was received at Rome with a general applauſe both of people and ſenate [m]. A perfect calm was ſoon re-eſtabliſhed in this great city; and all being quiet as before, they reſolved upon holding aſſemblies for the election of their conſuls. Cæſar, to leave the votes free, and obey the laws, went out

[l] *Appian.* [m] *Dion, Appian.*

of the city with his army: But he returned thither, after he had been told, that he had not only been chosen consul by the unanimous votes of the tribunes, but that they had likewise given him for collegue Quintus Pedius, his coheir in the succession to Julius Cæsar's estate, just as he had desired himself. He therefore ascended the capitol, according to custom, and performed those sacrifices which the magistrates, upon entering on their employment, always offered to their gods.

Accia had the pleasure of seeing this happy foundation of her son's grandeur; but death, which carried her off soon afterwards, did not permit her to see the conclusion.

Historians date the birth of the famous Ovid from this period, one of the greatest ornaments of the Augustan age: So that his banishment, which happened to him in the latter part of his life, reflected some dishonor upon Augustus himself.

Cæsar being thus created consul, saw himself in a condition of executing the design of renewing his friendship with Antony, out of a distrust which he had conceived of the senate; and as their friends had disposed all for their accommodation, the treaty was very soon concluded. This being once published, Cæsar, in virtue of his consulary power, made a decree; whereby he recalled Dolabella; and prescribed, on the contrary, the assassins of Julius Cæsar, with all their ad-

adherents, if they did not present themselves in the time which was allowed them to come, and make their defence. None having appeared, they were all declared guilty of the parricide of Julius Cæsar, and condemned to such punishments as were appointed in this case by law.

At this time Octavius gave marks of his clemency, and shewed, that he would not revenge his own private injuries [n]; for he pardoned Quintus Gallus, though convicted of a design against his own life, and condemned to death by the senate, being content with only ordering him to depart from Rome [o].

Antony, on his side, prepared himself a second time to drive Decimus out of Gaul; and being reinforced by two legions, which Asinius Pollio brought him, and with three that Plancus supplied him with, he marched towards Modena [p], where Decimus, not daring to wait for him, nor trust to ten legions which he had with him, resolved to retire towards Brutus, in Macedonia. But having been informed, that Cæsar was marching to join Antony, he quitted the road of Ravennæ, and, taking a longer and more difficult way, because he judged it more secure, he turned his march towards the Rhine, with an intention to pass that

[n] *Appian.* [o] *Suetonius relates this affair otherwise.* [p] *Dion, Appian.*

river

river with his army, and continue his way quite through Germany. But the ſoldiers being frighted with ſo long a march, which expoſed them not only to great fatigue, but perpetual hazards, amongſt barbarous nations and enemies of the Roman name, they refuſed to follo w him. The deſertion was begun by thoſe ſix legions which he had newly raiſed, who went off and ſurrendered themſelves to Cæſar. The four others after their example ſurrendered themſelves to Antony. There was none but his particular friends and a body of Gauliſh horſe, who offered to follow his fortune; but he took only three hundred of them, and diſmiſſed the reſt. Being arrived upon the borders of the Rhine thoſe three hundred left him, ten excepted, with whom he returned towards Aquileia, believing that with ſo few attendants he might paſs through the country unknown. And for a greater precaution quitting his Roman dreſs, he put on one after the faſhion of the Gauls. But falling into the hands of rovers who brought him to Camillus a prince of the country; this barbarian, to whom he diſcovered himſelf, after having ſhewn him great civilities, ſent diſpatches to Antony, and according to the orders he received, ſtruck off his head. This was the ſecond of the conſpirators who was puniſhed for his parricide, and news was brought at the ſame time of a

third

third called Minutius Basilus, who had been murdered by his own slaves.

In the mean time Cæsar and Antony having met in the neighbourhood of Modena, concluded a more ample alliance than the preceding one, which was called the triumvirate, because Lepidus who was the principal mediator, was received in it as a third person [a]. The conditions were agreed upon in a little island which is made by the River Lavinus, where these two generals met by different ways, after Lepidus who had been to examine the place, had given the signal which was agreed upon to assure them there was no ambuscade; and being all three seated, Cæsar in the midst as consul, having Antony on his right, and Lepidus on his left, they agreed upon the following articles.

[a] *Plutarch, Dion, Appian.*

THE LIFE OF AUGUSTUS.

PART I.

BOOK II.

THEY agreed, 1st, To divide amongst them the whole government of the empire with an equal authority[a]. 2dly, That waiting till they had driven Brutus out of Illyrium and Macedonia, and Cassius out of Asia, Cæsar should have Libya, Sardinia, Sicily, and the isles that are adjacent[b]; Antony the Celtic Gaul which extends as far

[a] *Dion, Appian, Plutarch.* [b] *Year of Rome* 711.

as

as the Pyrenean mountains; and Lepidus Spain, which begins where Gaul ends. They did not divide the other provinces, that they might make a ſhew of moderation; and to remove all ſuſpicion from the public, that they had any deſign againſt the liberty of Rome, they did not pretend to meddle with Italy. 3dly, They agreed that Lepidus ſhould ſtay at Rome, where he ſhould give all neceſſary orders, watch over the magiſtrates, and ſecure the public tranquillity, whilſt Cæſar and Antony marched againſt Brutus and Caſſius with their legions, of which they ſhould leave three for Lepidus to ſecure his government in Spain. Such were the conditions of this famous triumvirate, which gave new wounds to the republic, very far from curing thoſe it had already received, till Cæſar reducing the government under a better form, after the defeat of all his enemies, took the ſole adminiſtration into his own hands.

To theſe principal articles they added two others: The firſt concerned the payment of their army[c], to which they gave hopes of incredible donations, that would have been impoſſible to any other power but the Romans; for they promiſed to each ſoldier five thouſand drachmas, to the centurions five times as much, and to the tribunes the double of what they promiſed the centu-

[c] *Plutarch, Appian.*

rions:

rions: which amounted in all, for the forty legions under Cæſar and Antony to more than three hundred and ſeventy five millions, each legion being compoſed of five thouſand men, ſixty centurions, and ſix tribunes. They added to theſe promiſes the pillages of eighteen the moſt beautiful and rich cities of the empire; but the execution of this article was deferred till after their victory. The ſecond article concerned the ſecurity of the triumvirs, who to hinder their enemies from ſtirring in their abſence, reſolved to get rid of them, and confiſcate their eſtates, in order to defray the expences of the war. Cæſar was not willing to agree to this advice, but oppoſed himſelf fourteen days to the edict of proſcriptions, and not being able at laſt to prevail, he ſaved at leaſt all thoſe whom he could withdraw from the fury of his collegues [d].

For a ſymbol of their union they ſtamped a medal [e], upon the reverſe of which were ſeen three hands intertwined with theſe words, *Salus humani generis*, the deliverance and good of all mankind.

Hiſtorians [f] relate ſtrange prodigies that preceded this triumvirate, and though I conſider them as fables yet I believe that we owe ſo much reſpect to antiquity, as to relate ingenuouſly what is handed down to us. They ſay that wolves were ſeen in the ſtreets of Rome, as

[d] *Dion.* [e] *Plutarch.* [f] *Dion, Appian.*

in

in the open fields; which presaged the carnage and slaughter by which these animals are fed; that the statues of the gods sweat, some of them water and others blood; and that without seeing any thing men heard the noise of an army in its march, and the neighing of horses.

In the mean time the triumvirs made their entrance into Rome successively on three days; Cæsar the first, Antony the second, and Lepidus afterwards, each of them bringing with him a legion. After this, having convened the people by means of the tribunes, they declared the articles of their confederacy. the necessity and justice of which they endeavoured to represent to the people.

To make themselves still more agreeable to the Romans, they took the name of triumvirs[g], which the people of Lacedemon gave to one of their magistrates, designing by this to insinuate that they would use the same moderation in their government; and they limited the time of their power to five years, that they might avoid the hatred which the people would have infallibly conceived against a perpetual government. They past lightly over the article of proscription, and they only mentioned twelve, or as some historians say seventeen, whose

[g] *Appian.*

con-

condemnation they pretended was neceſſary for the public ſafety.

After this Publius Titius, one of the tribunes publiſhed thoſe articles ratified by the people [h], and declared from that day for the time to come, and for five ſucceſſive years there ſhould be new magiſtrates under the name of triumvirs, veſted with the ſame power as conſuls, who ſhould remain abrogated. Yet they did not ceaſe to elect them as uſual, notwithſtanding they only ſerved to regulate their faſti, or return of years, having nothing but a ſubaltern authority dependent on the triumvirate, which was in truth the ſovereign magiſtracy.

Thus was the triumvirate eſtabliſhed [i]; and the day following the number of the proſcribed amounted to an hundred and thirty, multiplying daily by the inſatiable avarice of the ſoldiers who were greedy of booty, and the cruelty of the heads, who were implacable in vengeance.

One then ſaw tragical examples of the rage of civil war. Friends betrayed friends, ſlaves their maſters, and wives their very husbands. There were children unnatural to ſuch a prodigy, as to put their parents into the hands of their executioners, that they might divide with them the ſpoils of tyranny. But, amidſt the gloom of ſo many

[h] *Appian.* [i] *Appian, Dion, Plutarch.*

horrible

horrible crimes there was a blaze of great virtues: for there were ſlaves who devoted themſelves for their maſters to certain death, and enemies generous enough to ſave the lives of their enemies at the hazard of their own.

There were ſome wives, who bore the ſharpeſt torments and inſults for their huſbands, and ſome children who ſhewed an incredible magnanimity for the preſervation of their parents, as if villainy and innocence, vice and virtue, had diſputed for the advantage on this occaſion.

Antony and Lepidus ſuffered themſelves to be ſo far tranſported with deſire of revenging themſelves on their enemies, that Lepidus abandoned his brother to Antony, that he might oblige Antony to ſacrifice his own uncle °. The ſoldiers being more humane than their generals, ſaved the firſt, who retired to Brutus, and after the death of Brutus, to Miletum, without ever chuſing to return to Rome, though he was invited thither after the end of the troubles. As to Lucius the uncle of Antony, he was ſaved by the love and courage of his ſiſter, who was mother of the triumvir; for ſhe came to find her ſon, when he was upon his tribunal; and glorying in having given a ſafe retreat to her brother, without fearing the edict, which proſcribed equally the condemned, and thoſe who concealed them, ſhe offered to die with him, if ſhe might

° *Dion, Appian.*

not

not ſave his life. Antony after having reproached her for being a better ſiſter than a mother, yet not daring to refuſe her, revoked the proſcription of Lucius. But Cicero did not eſcape the vengeance of Antony, who ſent his ſoldiers to kill him. They met him in the country, as he was endeavouring to ſave himſelf being carried in a chair on account his age and indiſpoſition; [a] and after having frighted away thoſe that carried him and his ſlaves, they cut off his head, which Cicero held with great intrepidity out of the door, and carried it with that hand which had wrote thoſe celebrated invectives ſo well known under the name of Philippics. They brought theſe two bloody members to Antony and Fulvia, who appeared quite tranſported at the ſight of ſo piteous an object, and gave ten thouſand crowns to theſe blood-hounds. This woman filled with frenſy, and inſatiate of revenge took the bloody head into her lap, and after having made it a thouſand mad reproaches, ſhe drew out that tongue and pierced it a thouſand times with a bodkin, which had charmed the city of Rome in its higheſt perfection, for judgment in eloquence, and ſtill aſtoniſhes the whole world by what it dictated to be tranſmitted down to poſterity. After this ſhe ordered theſe melancholy remains of ſo famous an orator to be fixed to the tribunal where he

[a] *He was ſixty four years old.*

had

had pronounced against her and Antony those eloquent harangues which perhaps he spoke with too much passion. The chief of his murderers [a] had been indebted to him for his life; for Cicero had got him pardoned, when he was accused of parricide; so that his eloquence may be said to have been extremely fatal to him by provoking Antony, and having saved the life of his ungrateful murderer.

Quintus Cicero his brother was massacred with his son. The son was not condemned; but he had concealed his father; and the emissaries of the triumvirs putting him to the torture to oblige him to discover his father, who, from the place, where he lay hid, heard the blows of these butchers, would not consent to save his life at the expence of his son's; and therefore presented himself to the murderers to deliver him from their hands; but they killed them both.

Cæsar shewed he had never approved of these murders [b], by the treatment which he shewed Cicero's son, whom he recalled to Rome after the conclusion of the peace, and procured him the consulship with the government of Syria. He treated Publius in the same manner, who had escaped into Asia, and had served as quæstor under Brutus; nay, he even admitted him into the number of

[a] *Popilius Lena.* [b] *Dion, Plutarch, Suetonius.*

his friends, notwithſtanding the inclination which Publius had retained for Brutus, whoſe picture he had in moſt of his chambers, which he uſed to ſhew freely to Cæſar.

Marcus, who had been prætor under Brutus, Lucretius, Metellus, and Meſſala, who had all been proſcribed, experienced at laſt the clemency and generoſity of Cæſar. He had for the laſt a moſt ſingular eſteem, honoring him with the conſulſhip, the command of that army which he had ſent againſt the Gauls, who had rebelled, and with a magnificent triumph after his victory; but theſe happy changes for the republic did not happen till after the defeat of Brutus and Caſſius.

He raiſed Titus Philopœmen from a freedman as he was, to the dignity of a Roman knight, for having ſaved the life of his maſter; and in the greateſt heat of the proſcription, he obliged his collegues to paſs a decree worthy of a better time, and a more equitable tribunal; for one of the proſcribed having hid himſelf at the bottom of a cave, in the dreſs of one of his ſlaves, who appeared at the entrance in his maſter's cloaths, another ſlave diſcovered the artifice, and delivered up his maſter to the executioners. And another of the proſcribed perſons having begged of his ſlave to ſave him, this mercenary cowardly wretch, wanting conſtancy and fidelity, went to find the murderers, and bargained with them for his maſter's life, receiving

ceiving his liberty as a reward for his treachery, with the confiſcation of all the goods of him whom he betrayed; and, not content with this villainy, he treated in a barbarous manner his maſter's children as often as he met them, not bearing to ſee their tears reproach him for the death of their father. The deteſtable and foreign crimes of theſe two ſlaves appeared ſo odious to the people, that without conſidering the danger they expoſed themſelves to, it wrought them up to a general inſurrection, and demand of juſtice; ſo that, to appeaſe them, the triumvirs, being induced to it by Cæſar, ſent the firſt of theſe villains to the gibbet, and obliged the other to a perpetual ſervitude, with a full reſtoration of all to the children of him whom he had betrayed. They likewiſe recompenſed the fidelity of that ſlave, who had expoſed his own life for his maſter, and gave him his liberty.

Some hiſtorians, who mention this event, diſtinguiſh not Cæſar in this deciſion from the other triumvirs; but there are other authors worthy of credit, who teach us, by doing him juſtice, that we ought not to confound him with Antony and Lepidus [d]; but that his temper, which was naturally mild and moderate, joined to the deſign which he had of making himſelf be beloved of the Roman people, gave him a ſtrong abhorrence

[d] *Dion, Appian.*

of the murders and bloodthirſtineſs of his collegues. This is what obliges me to believe, that he was likewiſe author of the modification which the triumvirs gave to a very ſingular edict, by which they had taxed the richeſt of the Roman ladies for very exceſſive ſums. Whatever be true in this reſpect, when they underſtood that they were charged with the reſt of the citizens, they went in a body to find the triumvirs; and, Hortenſia being their ſpeaker, remonſtrated to them the injuſtice of their edict againſt a ſex that ought to be exempt from taxes, as it was from the fatigues of war. She added, that as the Roman ladies had voluntarily contributed, from the ſuperfluity of their ornaments, for the defence of their country, when Hannibal was at the gates of Rome, nothing obliged them to contribute, as they would have them know, from their lands and incomes, towards the expence of a war which was carried on againſt their fellow citizens.

This diſcourſe put the triumvirs to confuſion, who reduced the number of thoſe they taxed to four hundred, when the number before mounted to fourteen.

After this they taxed above one hundred thouſand citizens, [b] of whom they ſpared no one, and the rich were always the moſt obnoxious. It is ſurpriſing that the inſolence of the ſoldiers dared to pretend to a confiſcation

[a] *Dion, Appian.* [b] *Plutarch.*

of

of the eſtate of Accia mother of Cæſar, [a] who had need of all her authority to hinder it; a remarkable example, which teaches thoſe who command, that by abandoning their citizens to the licence of the ſoldiers, they expoſe themſelves and relations to cruelty and inſult.

A great number of the proſcribed fled over into Aſia to Brutus and Caſſius; but a greater number retired into Sicily to Sextus, who was the laſt ſon of Pompey. The eldeſt had been killed in a battle in Spain, which he loſt againſt Julius Cæſar [b]; the moſt furious and deſperate that ever was given betwixt the two parties; and wherein Cæſar ran the greateſt hazzards of his life. He was wont to ſay afterwards, that upon other occaſions he fought for victory, but on that he ſtruggled for his own preſervation.

Sextus, after the death of his brother, gathered up the wreck of the army; but, not having ſufficient forces to make head againſt Cæſar, before whom all had given way, he thought leſs of fighting, than of withdrawing himſelf from purſuit. To do this more ſecurely, he thought it was better to keep out at ſea, than to canton his men in ſome provinces of the empire, or truſt the honor of barbarous kings.

He therefore armed out a number of ſhips, and compoſed a little fleet, with which he

[a] *Appian, Dion.* [b] *Appian, Plutarch.*

cruised over the whole ocean[a], taking and pillaging all those Romans who had been attached to Julius Cæsar's party. He was so happy in these courses, that several persons being drawn to him by the hope of booty, and others charmed by the glory of his actions, and love of his party, came and joined themselves to him; so that by degrees he found himself in a condition of undertaking some considerable enterprize.

He therefore debarked in Spain, besieged and took several places; routed Carinna, whom Cæsar had sent against him with a large army; and gave great trouble to Asinius Pollio, successor to Carinna, when the death of Cæsar, which he was advised of, made him undertake new hopes, new designs and new measures.

Being called to Rome by the senate, who declared him admiral and general of the sea, he departed from Spain with his fleet, and landed at Marseilles with a design to have taken there both ships and men, and have set sail for Italy. But having been informed of the confusion in which things were there, he did not think proper to go on, but took again to sea. Some time after he attempted the conquest of Sicily, and succeeded.

This happened near the time of the proscription by the triumvirs. Thus the proscribed found in him a powerful affectionate friend,

[a] *Dion, Appian, Florus.*

and

and a certain retreat in Sicily. Pompey received them with great humanity, diſtributed both cloaths and victuals to thoſe who had need, and gave offices and employments to perſons of merit and diſtinction. He had no leſs conſtancy in protecting them, than generoſity in receiving them; for when a peace was concluded ſome time after, he would not abandon them, but made them be comprehended in the treaty.

The triumvirs did not think at firſt of finding ſo formidable an enemy in the perſon of young Pompey; but ſeeing him maſter of Sicily, favored by the principal ſenators, and Roman knights, wanting neither ſhips nor ſoldiers, who came to him every day from Spain and Afric, and having on his ſide the general love of the people, who reſpected even to adoration the name of Pompey, they judged he was no longer an enemy to be deſpiſed, and that they muſt by all means hinder his junction with Brutus and Caſſius.

It was then reſolved, that whilſt Antony ſhould march into Aſia againſt the laſt, Cæſar ſhould go and make war in Sicily againſt Pompey. Salvidianus, lieutenant of Cæſar, went before with a naval force[a], which he had orders to land in a place proper for the retreat of ſhips, and encampment of ſoldiers[b], till ſuch times as Cæſar had joined him with greater forces, who were marching to meet

[a] *Dion, Appian.* [b] *Year of Rome* 712.

him at Regium, where he was resolved to embark upon the first advice of the successful descent of Salvidianus.

But the dispatch of Pompey broke all his measures. This general, whom his misfortunes had obliged to become a pirate, had made himself so skilful in this kind of war, that he always attacked, and oftentimes beat, more numerous fleets than his own. Therefore, having been advised of the route which Salvidianus took, he did not permit him to land, but went out to meet him; and though his fleet was composed of larger and better ships than his, he balanced not to attack him, with the assurance of a man accustomed to victory, whom danger cannot frighten. The sea was very much agitated, but Pompey's vessels, though light, kept the line of battle in good order, because his soldiers, as well as sailors, by long use, and knowledge of the sea, remained firm, without being shaken by the motion of the ships; whereas the enemies fleet, failing of experienced men in maritime affairs, kept out to sea, and were not able to draw up in the order of battle; and the soldiers, staggering and reeling, could not make advantage of their courage or arms: in such sort, that had not the night come on, Salvidianus could not have saved himself, as he did, at Majorca, after having had several of his ships shattered by the shock of those of Pompey,

pey, who re-entered, victorious and triumphing, his island of Sicily.

Cæsar, having received this news, prepared to join his lieutenant at Majorca, with design to set sail with all his army for Sicily, when he was hindered by another advice, which he received from Antony; for he sent him word, that Cassius and Brutus, having overcome Dolabella, had made themselves masters of most of the islands in the Archipelagus, and the Mediterranean, and that they had a design to pass over into Italy with a powerful army; so that it was high time to oppose this torrent, and cause a diversion, by carrying the war into Asia, before their enemies made Europe the seat of war; that he should wait for him at Brundusium, from whence they would go together, and transport their troops in vessels which he was equipping. Thus Cæsar was obliged to leave his enterprize of Sicily, and join Antony at Brundusium, in order to make their passage into Macedonia [a].

Before we follow them in this expedition, we must resume the history of the affairs of Asia, and see in what a condition they were, what success the arms of Brutus and Cassius had had, and for what these two heads of a party were preparing themselves.

Dolabella, after the death of Trebonius, put all the Lesser Asia under contribution;

[a] *Dion, Appian, Plutarch.*

and having amaſſed together as much money as he could, he paſſed over into Cilicia, and made himſelf maſter of Tarſus. He entered afterwards into Syria, and came before Antioch, which ſhut its gates againſt him; but he was received into Laodicea, where his fleet came to find him.

Caſſius, who was in Phœnicia, being informed of this invaſion, marched quickly up with an army of Romans and Parthians, which he had taken into his pay, and inveſted Laodicea, whilſt his fleet anchored in the ſight of the enemy, and ſhut up the port of the town.

Dolabella, believing his naval army ſtronger than that of Caſſius, reſolved to give him battle. Caſſius accepted it, loſt the day, and fifty of his ſhips. Aſtoniſhed at this defeat, he ſent an embaſſy for ſuccours to thoſe cities of Phœnicia that were under the dominion of Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, and deputed a perſon to Cleopatra herſelf. He obtained, from the lieutenants of this queen, the ſuccours which he had demanded, and they ſent them without her knowledge; but ſhe did not give a favourable anſwer to his deputies, and ſent, on the contrary, four legions to Dolabella; preparing likewiſe for him a new ſuccour, which contrary winds hindered from tranſportation. It was thus the queen, remembring the love of Cæſar, embraced the party of thoſe who revenged his death. In the mean time, Caſſius, reinforced

forced by thoſe troops which came to him from Cyprus and Phœnicia, came a ſecond time to an engagement with Dolabella, not at ſea, but in the open field. The battle laſted a whole day; was very bloody: night ſeparated the two armies, which retired, the one of them to Laodicea, and the other to their camp, without its being clear which ſide had the victory. The following day the two generals would try whether fortune would not be more favorable to them at ſea. Thus, ſending a mutual defiance, they both went on board, and drew up in form of battle. The combat was very obſtinate, but the ſucceſs was not happy for Dolabella, ſeveral of his veſſels being taken or ſunk; he was forced to regain Laodicea, where he judged he ſhould be beſieged by Caſſius, whoſe army already blocked up that place. He yet prepared himſelf for a vigorous defence; but the ſoldiers, who were on guard, having opened the gate to the beſiegers, Dolabella, not to fall into the hands of Caſſius, ordered himſelf to be ſtabbed by one of his men, who killed himſelf afterwards. Caſſius, to give the greater courage to his army, gave up the city to the pillage of the ſoldiers.

After this victory, which gave all Syria to the conſpirators, and brought back Aſia under their obedience, Caſſius was preparing to paſs over into Egypt againſt Cleopatra, to be revenged for the affront ſhe

had offered him, and possess himself of her kingdom; but he was hindered by Brutus, who obliged Cassius to join him, that they might oppose the arms of Cæsar and Antony, who were preparing to cross the sea with twenty legions, besides those which were already entered Macedonia, to the number of eight, under the conduct of their lieutenants, Didius Saxa and Norbanus[f].

Brutus would have them without delay march their troops into Macedonia, and that before the enemy could fortify themselves, they should give them battle, if they could not hinder their descent. He added, that it concerned their glory and reputation in arms, not to suffer themselves to be attacked in Asia, where they were masters[g]; that an army which marches with resolution, and seeks the enemy, always increases; and, possessing itself of the country over which it marches, augments its reputation, in proportion as it diminishes that of a contrary party. To which he added, that they ought to do their utmost to join themselves with Pompey, and repulse the common enemy, who had no other design but to hinder this junction. Cassius, on the contrary, represented, that it was dangerous to leave Asia before they had subjected the Rhodians and the Lycians, who would not fail of attacking their rear, and certainly keep their ports

[f] *Appian.* [g] *Dion, Appian, Plutarch.*

open,

open, for the ſhips of Cæſar and Antony, with an addition of their own; that the people of Tyre, Phœnicia and Cyprus, who obeyed Cleopatra, would join them with the whole kingdom of Egypt, by the orders of that queen, who had ſufficiently ſhewed her intention; thus, finding themſelves ſurrounded by ſea and land, far from being in a condition of joining with Pompey, they would have a difficulty to re-enter Aſia, if by a removal they left it expoſed to thoſe inſurrections which the Rhodians and Lycians would not fail of ſupporting.

This advice prevailed. Caſſius with a part of the naval army advanced againſt the Rhodians, and Brutus with the other againſt the Lycians. The Rhodians defended themſelves like men of courage and bravery. They were beſieged by ſea and land; but both without being frighted they went on board their ſhips, and attacked the fleet of Caſſius, though it was ſtronger than their own. As their veſſels were light, and turned eaſily, they gave at firſt ſome trouble to Caſſius, whoſe ſhips being heavier could not move with the ſame celerity, or avoid the ſhock of thoſe frigates, which paſſing and repaſſing with great ſwiftneſs did nothing but skirmiſh. But when once the fleet of Caſſius was formed into the line of battle, as it was more numerous than that of the Rhodians, it ſurrounded their ſhips, and, forcing them to a cloſer and more regular fight, it ſoon put them in diſorder; ſo that after having ſeen three

three of their veſſels taken, and ſome ſunk, they retired into their haven.

Some days after Caſſius, who kept his fleet at anchor, near Halicarnaſſus, appeared with all his fleet, with deſign to burn the enemies ſhips, make a deſcent, and ſo give an aſſault on that ſide of the town, whilſt his land-army ſhould do the ſame on the other ſide. The beſieged were not frighted, they went on board their ſhips, and courageouſly met their enemy. The engagement was not equal, they had fewer veſſels than Caſſius, as was ſaid before, and leſs, ſo that the battle could not continue long; but after having loſt two of their ſhips, they returned with the others, and prepared themſelves to maintain a ſiege, without attempting any more a ſally.

But fortune continuing to favor Caſſius, he was introduced into the place by the richeſt citizens, who thought by this cowardice to ſecure themſelves againſt pillage. They were notwithſtanding deceived, and Caſſius made a bad uſe of his victory. For without having regard to the ſervice which they had done him, or remembring that he had received his own education in the city of Rhodes, he not only ordered all the gold and ſilver to be carried off which he found in private houſes, but what was dedicated in temples, and all ornaments of value, with exception to the chariot of the ſun, which either out of reſpect or ſcruple he durſt not touch. He joined

joined cruelty to avarice, and ordered fifty of the principal inhabitants to be murdered, out of hatred of the Rhodians, becauſe they had taken the part of Dolabella. It is ſaid that the people having ſaluted him by the name of lord and king upon his entrance into the city, he ſaid to them with a frown, that he was neither lord nor king; but the deſtroyer of all thoſe who would ſet themſelves up for kings and maſters of the republic.

The taking of Rhodes kept other places in their obedience, and obtained for Caſſius by advance, that tribute which he had impoſed upon them for ten years. After this expedition he embarked to return to Abydos, as he had agreed with Brutus, after having left Varus for governor of the whole iſland. Brutus on his ſide made himſelf maſter of Lycia, where he beſieged the city of Xanthus, ſituated upon the river from which it takes its name, which diſcharges itſelf about four little leagues from thence into the ſea of Pamphylia. The city after having vigorouſly defended itſelf, was taken by aſſault; but the Romans, far from finding the people amazed, or flying to their temples, or places of ſecurity, ſaw men, women, and children running to death with pleaſure, offering their throats to the ſoldiers, or throwing themſelves into blazing funeral piles, which they had prepared before their own doors; ſo that Brutus, far more humane, generous, and compaſſionate,

ate, than Caſſius had a difficulty to ſave ſome of thoſe deſperate creatures, whoſe misfortune he wept for, and admired their reſolution. He could ſave none but the ſlaves, and about one hundred and fifty women, for all the reſt periſhed by fire or ſword; though he had ordered it to be publiſhed, he would give a conſiderable recompence to the ſoldiers, if they would ſave the inhabitants.

This was the third time this unhappy city, for having a deſire of preſerving its independency, was buried under its own ruins [h]; for it had the ſame fate under Cyrus and afterwards under Alexander.

Brutus preſented himſelf before Patara, which he ſummoned to ſurrender, threatening if they did not open their gates to treat them as they had done the city of Xanthus. The citizens asked till the morrow to deliberate, when they brought their keys, and the army enter'd without doing any harm. Brutus having thus made himſelf maſter of the city, publiſhed an order, whereby every one was commanded to bring in all their gold and ſtampt money, without ſecreting any thing on pain of death. A citizen notwithſtanding concealed what he had; but he was diſcovered by one of his ſlaves and brought to Brutus. His mother followed him and deſiring to ſave his life at the expence of her own took upon

[h] *Plutarch.*

herſelf

herſelf the guilt to diſcharge him. But Brutus pardoning the infraction of his own edict gave them both an inſtance of his generoſity and mercy [a]; and taking the public ſecurity to heart, ordered that ſlave to be hanged, who had violated humanity, by betraying his maſter.

This action gained him the hearts of every one, and ſecured to him his conqueſts; better than the gariſons, which he put in theſe places. Having re-eſtabliſhed tranquillity every where, he gave orders for his departure. The fleet ſet ſail with a part of the army, to gain Abydos, and Brutus, with the reſt of the troops, marched thither by land.

In the mean time, Murcus, with a fleet of one hundred ſail, cruiſed upon the Ionian ſea, to hinder the veſſels of Cæſar from coming out of the ports of Italy. He had orders likewiſe to obſerve the fleet of Cleopatra, which was ſaid to be at ſea, and ſeeking Cæſar and Antony to join them. But, having underſtood that a tempeſt had ſcattered the fleet, part of whoſe wreck he ſaw, which the ſea had brought as far as Lacedemon; and, being informed, that the queen was returned to her own ſtates, he left Peloponneſus, where he would have been uſeleſs, and returned to cruiſe near Brunduſium.

[a] *Appian.*

Domitius

Domitius Enobarbus came and joined him with fifty ſhips; ſo that, making in all a fleet of one hundred and fifty ſail, they thought it would be impoſſible for the Cæſarians, who were not ſo powerful as them at ſea, to tranſport their legions into Macedonia.

Yet they could not hinder Cæſar and Antony from landing twenty legions at Durazzo. They embarked theſe troops at Brunduſium at three ſeveral times, upon light veſſels, which Antony had equipped; and, by their ſwiftneſs, eaſily eſcaped from the purſuit of the enemy, ſo that they happily tranſported all their troops, and ſoon after paſſed the ſeas themſelves.

But Caſſius and Brutus joining one another at Abydos, reviewed their army which they found conſiſting of eighty thouſand effective men, all Romans, and twelve thouſand horſe, beſides the auxiliary troops of allied or tributary princes, amounting in all to more than thirty thouſand men, horſe and foot, which thoſe princes commanded in perſon.

One could not poſſibly ſee finer troops. All the cavalry, covered with ſhining arms, were advantageouſly mounted, and the harneſs of the horſe was adorned with plates of ſilver [k]. The infantry was not leſs pompous, and the officers not only diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the richneſs of their arms, but

[k] *Plutarch.*

gold

gold and silver glittered upon those of common soldiers. Brutus and Cassius, ravished with the sight of so fine an army, ordered a great amphitheatre to be prepared, upon which ascended first, the senators and prætors, for the allied princes were a degree lower, with the Roman knights [l], and above all appeared the two generals, cloathed with their state mantles of purple; with an embroidery of gold [m]. There first was heard the sound of trumpets, which reached over the whole camp; and afterwards the two generals having ordered silence, Cassius, as the oldest of them, spoke in these terms:

"Oh! Romans, whom the violence of "the triumvirs, and the fury of proscription "have brought hither, there is no need of "a long discourse to persuade you of the "justice of our cause, and the necessity of "our arms. It was not private interest which "made us stab the tyrant; we had reason to "be content with his friendship and gene-"rosity; but the liberty of Rome, which "he had opposed, was dearer to us than "our own fortunes. If you are truly Ro-"mans, if you breathe the liberty of your "ancestors, if you have the same interest in "the quarrel as we, and your country calls "upon you, with the loudest voice, to de-"fend its dying freedom, reflect what

[l] *Dion, Appian.* [m] *Paludamentum ex cocco & purpura auro distincta.*

"you

"you owe to the ſenate and the Roman "people. Reſtore to the republic its former "dignity. Re eſtabliſh the fugitive ſenate, "of which you have a part in your camp. "Conſult your own intereſt, your own ho-"nor, and make Rome enjoy her autho-"rity to the full, if you would enjoy the "glorious advantages of command and li-"berty."

This diſcourſe was liſtened to with a profound ſilence, to which ſucceeded the redoubled acclamations of the whole army, earneſtly demanding of their generals to be led againſt the enemy. Caſſius, to raiſe the courage of the ſoldiers ſtill higher, promiſed them all the booty they ſhould take from the Cæſarians, and ordered immenſe ſums to be diſtributed amongſt them, ſince they amounted to more than one hundred and fourſcore millions of livres.

The two generals, after this, embarked their army, which were two days in paſſing the Streights. They marched, as they had reſolved, towards Macedonia, where they muſt have entered by the ſtreights of Sapea and Torpides, which are like two gates to that kingdom, unleſs they took a large circuit. But becauſe Saxa and Norbanus poſſeſſed theſe paſſages, Brutus and Caſſius made uſe of a ſtratagem to draw them thence, which had like to have ſucceeded; for they ſent Tullius Cimba with a fleet, who coaſting along the ſhore, made frequent deſcents, pillaging

and

and ravaging all the country near these Streights, to oblige Saxa and Norbanus to come to their assistance. In effect, Norbanus made all speed, and left the Streights of Torpides, which Brutus and Cassius soon seized upon: but he having perceived his fault, and the stratagem of the enemy, joined himself with Saxa, and both of them strengthened themselves so well, in this streight, by which, of necessity, the enemy must pass, if they would continue on their march, that there was not the least probability of forcing it.

As Brutus and Cassius knew not what to resolve on, Rascupolis, who was in the pay of Cassius, came up with three thousand horse. This Thracian prince said to them, that in reality they took the direct way for Œnon and Marona; but the way was dangerous, because the enemies possessing the avenues shut up the passage; that he knew of a better road, by which he would guide them if they would follow, without being astonished at the length, or difficulty of the way, for they must make a long circuit to avoid the Streights of Sapea, and march four days, over woods and mountains, without finding water, or refreshment. The soldiers therefore took in their provision, and followed their guide, who brought them happily, the fourth day, to the banks of a little river, which was a great comfort to them.

They

They marched ſtrait to Amphipolis with a deſign to ſeize on it; but they were prevented by the diligence of Saxa and Norbanus, who flung themſelves into the town.

Brutus and Caſſius having failed of their deſign, made their army take their way to Philippi, and arrived there in the evening near the walls of the city, their fleet being come into the road and having caſt anchor four leagues from the place. The city had received a Cæſarian gariſon; but Brutus and Caſſius hoped to force it in a few days, the gariſon not being ſtrong enough to hold out a long ſiege.

This place, before Philip Alexander's father had fortified it, was but an inſignificant village, which bore another name. This king gave it his own, after that he had ſurrounded it with good walls, and large ditches full of water, to make uſe of it as a bulwark and citadel againſt the Thracians, againſt whom he had declared war [g]. It was on the frontier, but it belonged to the antient kingdom of Macedonia, and was a colony from it. It has on the north woods that cover it; on the ſouth ſide a marſh which is terminated by the ſea; to the eaſt, the two ſtreights of Sapea and Torpides; and on the weſt a plain of twenty leagues, at the end of which runs the river Strymon, ſo celebrated in antiquity by poetic fables. It was here,

[g] *Appian, Dion.*

if

if we will believe the poets, in these beautiful meadows, where the spring displays itself in all its colours, that Proserpine walking and gathering flowers was ravished by Pluto, and the little river of Zygastes, which parts them in two, and is so called, because he broke the yoke of his chariot in passing it. Two hills appear pretty near the town, upon one of which Brutus pitched his camp, and Cassius on the other, having drawn a line of communication, which joined the two armies in so advantageous a post. For they had on one side broad marshes with a river, and on the other difficult defiles and broken ways, having behind them the sea, from whence their fleet, which was come to anchor under the walls of Neapolis [b] at the mouth of the river Strymon, might bring to them provisions in abundance, which they drew from those places where they had their magazines. In the mean time Cæsar and Antony, who were newly disembarked at Durazzo, remained not idle [c]: the first of them falling sick, Antony was charged with the care of the whole army. He made it march with all haste towards Amphipolis where he feared the enemy might seize on a commodious port upon the Ionian sea, which would facilitate their communication with Pompey. But, having learned, that Saxa and Norbanus were there with very good troops, he

[b] *Naples.* [c] *Dion, Appian, Plutarch.*

had

had no further apprehenſion. But marching directly after the enemy he came and pitched his camp in the ſight of theirs, with a reſolution to oblige them to raiſe the ſiege of Philippi. Though Cæſar was ſo weak he could not get on horſeback, yet his courage would not permit him to keep his bed when he underſtood that they were ready to joi n battle; and ſick as he was, he made himſelf be carried to the camp, where he arrived ſome days before the battle.

The two armies were pretty near equal; but the conſpirators were ſtronger in horſe. Yet Brutus was of opinion they ought to hazard nothing, but protract things as much as poſſible. He remonſtrated to his collegue, that if the enemy ſhould reſolve to keep in their camp, they would ſoon want proviſions, Pompey hindering any to be brought from Spain and Afric; and Marcus and Domitius ſhutting up all the ports of Italy. They therefore had no other refuge but Egypt, but famine had ſo deſolated that country, it ſtood in need of ſuccours itſelf. It is true, that Theſſaly and Macedonia were in the power of the Cæſarians, but what aſſiſtance could they hope from provinces ſo exhauſted, that they were to add in their account the inconveniences of ſcarcity of proviſions in an unwholſome place, where there was nothing but bad water, which joined with famine, muſt ſoon ſpread diſorders throughout their army? Caſſius was forced to yield to advice

ſupported

ſupported by ſuch ſtrong reaſons, though of a natural temper much more impatient than Brutus, he would rather have choſen to have ended the war by a deciſive battle.

But the ſame reaſons which inclined Brutus to avoid a battle, obliged Cæſar and Antony to force their enemies to one. Yet the enterprize was very difficult, for Brutus and Caſſius were encamped beyond an inacceſſible marſh, which they muſt neceſſarily paſs, over before they could come to them. Antony notwithſtanding undertook to paſs his army, and for the execution of this deſign he made a broad paved way, from one end of the marſh to the other. The ſoldiers labored at it with ſo much diligence, that Caſſius, who commanded on that ſide, perceived nothing of the undertaking till it was finiſhed, becauſe the reeds, which were very tall and thick, covered the workmen, and hindered them from being ſeen; Antony having paſſed over during the night ſeveral troops that hid themſelves in the reeds[m].

But Caſſius having diſcovered the work, thought of deſtroying it; and as it was but freſh, he had no great difficulty in doing it. He after this drew a large ditch betweeen his camp and that of Antony, fortifying it with paliſades and redoubts, which the ſoldiers quickly raiſed with turf and faſcines. Antony, aſtoniſhed to ſee his work thus

[m] *Appian.*

ruined, and the imminent danger in which the cohorts were, which he had passed over to the other side, resolved to run all hazards to save them, and force his enemies to a battle, by attacking them in their very camp. With this resolution, and after having conferred with Cæsar, who was carried in a litter, he drew his legions out of their lines, and attacked the new intrenchments, where the soldiers were still at work, ordering his ladders and batteries to follow, that he might force the camp [n] of Cassius, after he had filled up the ditch which stopped his passage. He made this attack so vigorously, that he overthrew all this new work without finding any resistance, and letting himself be carried away by his courage, he marched directly to the enemies camp, whither his soldiers ran up with so much bravery, that it assured him of success.

In the mean time, Cassius, who had seen Antony coming, was gone outwith his troops drawn up in form of battle with a design to support his men, and defend his works. But chance would have it, that whilst he marched on one side, and Antony on the other, they did not meet; and besides, the diligence of the latter was such, that Cassius saw his camp taken, at that time whilst he was marching up to the defence of his intrenchments, where he thought that Antony was still bu-

[n] *The Romans fortified their camps like a citadel.*

sied;

ſied ; ſo that, turning his head to the noiſe which he heard behind him, he was ſurpriſed when he diſcovered the true cauſe, upon ſeeing his camp in the power of his enemy. The cohort which he had left there not being able to reſiſt an army, Antony entered it upon the firſt attack, and gave the pillage of it to his ſoldiers. Caſſius, obſerving, as much as the diſtance where he was would permit him, the confuſion of the victorious army, had a mind to perſuade his legions to return and charge the enemy in this diſorder, whilſt they were employed in pillage and plunder; but ſo ſudden a terror fell on this army, upon ſight of the camp being taken, as ſoon almoſt as they had left it, that they remained without motion, or liſtening to their general ; and afterwards betook themſelves to flight, with ſo much precipitation that it was impoſſible for Caſſius to ſtop his ſoldiers, or rally them.

At the ſame time Brutus coming out with the reſt of the atmy, marched directly to the camp of the Cæſarians, which he poſſeſſed himſelf of, as Antony had done by that of Caſſius, and put to the ſword every one that he met ; ſo that had Cæſar continued in the camp, he would, probably ſpeaking, have periſhed with the others. But he had left it, and put himſelf at the head of a battalion, notwithſtanding his indiſpoſition, which did not permit him to ſit on horſeback, or put on his

armor[o]. The enemy having found his litter, and believing that he was in it, pierced it with a number of ſpears. Thus by expoſing himſelf to danger, he avoided it, and his boldneſs was the occaſion of his preſervation. They ſay he had taken this reſolution by reaſon of a dream which his phyſician had, to whom Minerva appeared upon the eve of the battle, and bid him take Cæſar out of the camp. Yet he failed not of being in danger for this; for that part of the army in which he was, happened to be oppoſed to that of Brutus, who cut the rear-guard all to pieces.

As for the reſt, fortune made a jeſt of both of them; for Brutus triumphed in the camp of Cæſar, while Antony did the ſame in that of Caſſius, without its being known which party had had the advantage[p]. Both pillaged the camp of one another, and each returned to his own loaded with ſpoils; but he found the ſame deſolation there, which he had cauſed in the enemy's. Antony and Cæſar loſt ſixteen thouſand men, and the enemy not half ſo many, the confuſion being greater on their ſide than the ſlaughter; but they ſuffered a much greater loſs by the death of Caſſius.

This unfortunate general, not having been able, either by prayers or threats, to oblige his ſoldiers to renew the battle, got upon an eminence, from whence he diſcovered the diſorder

[o] *Plutarch.* [p] *Dion, Appian.*

of

of his own army, and the taking of his camp. He after this caſt his eyes upon the ſide of Brutus's army, without being able to diſtinguiſh objects upon account of the duſt which was raiſed in all parts by the horſes feet. But hearing a ſquadron approaching him, who raiſed ſhouts of joy, as perſons do after victory, he did not doubt but this was a conſequence of his own misfortunes, and this body of horſe was rejoicing for the defeat of Brutus. Then fancying him, by the ſtrength of his imagination, either alive or dead, fallen into the hands of his enemies[q], he cried out in a tranſport of paſſion; "Was "my deſtiny then ſuch to be born under a "determination of fate, of ſeeing periſh "before my eyes the beſt good man of all "the Romans, and the only one capable of "re eſtabliſhing the commonwealth?" Then turning himſelf to one of his freed ſlaves, "Pindarus, ſaid he, I expect to be obeyed "in this laſt order of my life. Stab me, give "me death; for I will not ſurvive the loſs "of Brutus, and the liberty of Rome."

Then uncovering his breaſt he received that wound which made him fall breathleſs, at that very time when Brutus's men (for it was a ſquadron of his army whoſe ſhouts of joy Caſſius had heard) were coming to acquaint him with their victory, and the taking of Cæſar's camp. All that they could do in

[q] *Appian.*

this misfortune was to carry off the body of their general, and spread every-where through the fugitive army the news of Brutus's success, that the soldiers might rally again under him. Brutus could not see the body of Cassius without shedding tears; and he ordered it to be buried secretly, not daring to expose it to the eyes of the soldiers, for fear so melancholy a spectacle should lessen their courage, and abate their resolution.

Such was the end of Cassius, the fourth person of Julius Cæsar's assassinate[1]. He was a great man in war, had very few equals to him in valor, and no superior in all the qualities of a great general. Julius Cæsar bore him witness himself; for understanding that he disputed the prætorship with Brutus at Rome, Cassius, said he, is in the right; but he ought to have a little complaisance for Brutus; shewing by these words, that though he had more affection for the latter, he had more esteem for Cassius. His experience, as well as his courage, had appeared on many occasions, and particularly in that unhappy expedition of Crassus against the Parthians; and if that general would have followed the advice of Cassius, who was then one of his lieutenants, he had not perished as he did with his whole army. As for what remains, Cassius shewed during his whole life a probity worthy antient Rome[2], and a tempe-

[1] *Appian.* [2] *Plutarch.*

rance

rance which proceeded even to auſterity; nay, he would have been without defect, if his natural temper, which was too choleric, had not ſometimes carried him to acts of cruelty.

Brutus, having the following day reaſſembled his army, told them, that in reality they had ſuffered a great loſs by the death of Caſſius; but that in other reſpects the advantage was apparently on their ſide[t]; and that it was not the valor of the enemy which had deſtroyed their general; but that he was taken from them by an unavoidable neceſſity; whereas they had obtained victory by their courage, pillaged the camp of Cæſar, and covered the field of battle with the ſlain; that, beſides, their enemies were reduced to ſuch a neceſſity, that they would ſoon be forced to abandon Philippi and all Macedonia. "Wherefore, my fellow-ſoldiers," added he, "Let us, I beg of you, precipitate no-"thing, nor expoſe ourſelves a ſecond time "to the caprice of fortune, which you have "lately had a melancholy experience of." After this he diſtributed to them large ſums, and promiſed them ſtill more conſiderable after the victory, which he made ſure of, if they would but wait with patience, without riſking a battle by valor out of ſeaſon.

[t] *Dion, Appian.*

But Cæsar and Antony had very different thoughts, and, after having vainly endeavoured to take from Brutus the communication with his fleet, they resolved to draw him into a battle. In this design they drew up every day the legions out of their intrenchments, and detached parties that went and skirmished at the very gates of the enemies camp, reproaching them with cowardice and baseness. These insults had the success, which Cæsar and Antony expected[w]. The impatient soldiers could suffer them no longer; but after having murmured in their tents, had the boldness to come and complain to their general. Brutus being a little too indulging, and obliged by the misfortunes of the times to dissemble a licentiousness which he durst not punish, promised them to fight, the first time his enemies should present him battle.

This happened the very day following; for Cæsar and Antony, as if they had been informed of his resolution, drew out their troops, and formed them in three lines. Cæsar, supplying his weakness by his courage, took the right wing, and Antony the left. Brutus, perceiving their design, would not break his word; but he suffered himself, before the battle, to be transported to an action of cruelty, quite contrary to his nature; for he ordered all the prisoners which

[w] *Appian.*

he

he had taken in the preceding battle to be ſlain, whether by way of retaliation, becauſe his enemies had put to the ſword all the conſpirators that had fallen into their hands, or whether it was not to be obliged to employ a part of his army in guarding the captives. After this tragical execution, for which he had a horror himſelf, he drew out his troops, making them march in three columns, to oppoſe the three lines of the enemy[x]; and, having given the command of his right wing to his lieutenant, he reſerved the left to himſelf, ſo that he was oppoſed that day to Cæſar. The two armies continued for ſome time in ſight of one another, while the generals went from rank to rank, with their heads uncovered, exhorting their ſoldiers to diſtinguiſh their valour. "My brave com-
"panions, ſaid Brutus to his men, you have
"forced me to draw you out to battle; act
"with that magnanimity, that I may not
"repent of my too eaſy indulgence; and re-
"flect, you muſt now make ſure of a victory
"by your courage, which I was certain to
"have gained by your patience."

Cæſar, on the contrary, animated his men by theſe words: "Ye heroic fellow-ſoldiers of
"Cæſar, and companions of his victories, I
"need ſay no more to perſuade you to revenge
"his death: ſhew this day againſt his mur-
"derers, the ſame bravery you have ſo of-

[x] *Appian.*

"ten ſhewn againſt his enemies. The "Gods, who are the revengers of parricide, "have already teſtified their juſtice in the "puniſhment of Caſſius; they will certain-"ly evidence it ſtill more by that of Brutus; "and I dare anſwer to you for the victory, "if you will but follow me to the battle."

The two armies having anſwered by great acclamations to the harangues of their generals, they ſounded a charge, and the ſoldiers mixt their ſhouts with the noiſe of the trumpets. The battle began by their bowmen, who advancing out of their ranks, made their diſcharge; but this ſort of skirmiſh did not laſt long. The legions approached one another within the reach of their javelins, and the ſoldiers taking no more ground than was neceſſary for the free uſe of their arms, the battle grew hot and very bloody on both ſides. Both parties were encouraged by their antient glory; Cæſar's and Antony's army having conquered Gaul, England, and Germany; and that of Brutus having triumphed under Pompey, over Mithridates, and all the Eaſt. One ſide was puſhed on with the deſire of revenging Cæſar's death, the other by the glory of re-eſtabliſhing the republic; and both of them excited by equal hopes of recompence. Thus no one would yield, and eagles oppoſed to eagles remained firm in the hands of their ſtandard-bearers, at the head of the legions. But Cæſar, not bearing to ſee the victory eſcape him, made a laſt ſtruggle[y]: and

[y] *Appian.*

putting

putting himſelf at the head of the cavalry, he fell with ſuch impetuoſity upon the firſt line of the enemies, that he broke it, piercing and overthrowing the two others with the ſame ardor. Brutus ſtood firm for ſome time, and endeavoured more than once to rally the fugitives. "Is it thus, cried he out with in-"dignation, that, after having forced me to "a battle, you ſignalize your courage by de-"ſerting your general?" But they regarded his juſt reproaches no more than they had obeyed his wiſe counſel; and his upbraiding them with their faults and diſobedience, only ſerved to put them into greater confuſion, and increaſe their diſorder. Brutus, ſeeing the defeat of his legions, retired with a company of horſe along the mountains by favour of the night, which hindered his enemies from purſuing him.

In the mean time Cæſar and Antony ſent out troops to ſeize on all the paſſages, and ſhut up the avenues of his camp. This general, ſtopping in a valley, the obſcurity of which concealed him from the Cæſarians, ordered his men to make a halt, got off from his horſe himſelf, and obliged all thoſe that followed him to do the ſame thing. After an hour or two of repoſe, he called them all to him [z], and remonſtrated to the ſoldiers, that there ſtill remained one means of eſcaping, if they had the courage to em-

[z] *Appian.*

brace it: This was, to march directly to the camp, where he did not doubt but several of the fugitives were already arrived; that tho' it was true, the enemies cohorts had blocked up the passages, yet the fatigue of the day had so wearied them, and the security of their victory made them so negligent, that they might assure themselves of success. But this bold resolution was taken by his soldiers as an effect of despair, and completed their pusillanimity. For he had proposed to them a passage through a victorious army, and though they were so happy as to gain their camp, what protection could they find from intrenchments, which they were not able to defend, and were besides in the power of their enemy? Thus they reasoned in their fear and despondency, and resolving to apply to the conquerors mercy, nor provoke him more by vain resistance, exhorted their general to think of his own safety, and submit himself to the determination of fortune. Brutus, not able to recover them from their fright, broke off the assembly, and retiring under the cover of some trees, in company with Strato, he first deplored the calamity of the commonwealth[a], and then making a reflection upon his and Cassius's misfortunes, burst out into these melancholy expressions: "O wretched virtue, I took thee "for a substance; but thou art but an empty

[a] *Dion, Appian, Plutarch.*

"name,

" name, incapable of ſupporting thoſe who " adore thee, ſince thou dependeſt thyſelf " on that fortune which perſecutes the good." After this tragical expoſtulation, in the diſorder of his mind, turning of a ſudden to Strato, " My friend, ſaid he, the gods, whoſe " providence is incomprehenſible to man, " abandon the republic, and declare them- " ſelves for the tyrants: but I take them- " ſelves to witneſs, that it is Antony, and " not Caſſius or I, who is guilty of ſuch an " effuſion of blood, and deluge of human " miſeries: for had he remained united with " us, and not made an alliance with Cæſar, " there had been no civil wars[b]; we ſhould " have ſaved our country, without ſpilling the " blood of our citizens. As for me, I have " nothing left me but to benefit by the ex- " amples of Cato and Caſſius. I am reſolved " to die free as a Roman, and receive my " death from thy hand: it is for this, I have " pitched upon thee. And as Strato endeavoured to excuſe himſelf, and turn Brutus from this fatal reſolution, this general called out with vehemence on one of his ſlaves; then Strato, drawing his ſword, ſaid to him, Since you will, in this article of death you ſhall be obeyed, and not want a friend to put a period to an unhappy life. Brutus immediately opening his boſom, Strato plunged his ſword in it to his own hand.

Thus died Brutus, one of the nobleſt and

[b] *Appian.*

moſt

moſt virtuous men of Rome, had not the too eager zeal of delivering his country made him take life from that very perſon who perhaps had given it to himſelf; at leaſt it is certain, that Cæſar loved ardently Brutus's mother; and it is certain, that when he obſerved Brutus amongſt his aſſaſſins, he cried out: And thou, thou alſo my ſon? It is added, that feeling himſelf wounded by ſo loved a man, he made no further account of his life, which he had defended bravely before againſt his murderers: but folding himſelf in his robe, he received without emotion, thoſe wounds which finiſhed his life. Several perſons had thought in the civil wars between Pompey and Julius Cæſar, that Brutus would have joined the latter, becauſe Pompey had put his father to death. But being governed by nothing but the love of his country, he joined himſelf with that party, which ſeemed to be its defenders. Julius Cæſar pardoned him this behaviour, and loaded him with generoſities; but all this could not get the aſcendant of his affection for the republic, whoſe liberties he thought the dictator by his uſurpation had oppreſſed: and, beſides, he was moved to his reſolution, by an inſcription that was fixed to the ſtatue of antient Brutus, Would to God thou wert alive! Theſe words did not ſo much praiſe antient Brutus, as they touched the jealous honor of his ſucceſſor; and he was determined, at laſt, by this reproach, which he found

found written upon his own tribunal: Thou ſleepeſt, Brutus; thou art not Brutus. It was by theſe inſinuating motives that Brutus became engaged in the conſpiracy; who was otherwiſe perfectly averſe to all cruelty [c]. He was not leſs valiant than Caſſius, but of a ſweeter and more humane nature, and his converſation was accordingly more poliſhed and agreeable. He had eſpouſed Portia, a lady of a very delicate complexion; but of an heroic dauntleſs courage. Hearing of the death of her husband, ſhe reſolved not to ſurvive him, and as they perceived ſhe had a deſign upon her own life, notwithſtanding the vigilance of her guards, ſhe deceived and aſtoniſhed all, by taking in her hand live coals, which ſhe ſwallowed, by a deſpair as glorious in thoſe ages, as had been that of her famous father Cato. Many illuſtrious perſons, who were in the army of Brutus, imitated his example by diſpatching themſelves, or ordering their ſlaves to do it for them, of which number was the celebrated lawyer Labeo; or elſe went to meet their death amongſt the enemy, upon whom they ruſhed with ſword in hand, half naked and unarmed, that they might die the ſooner [d]. Lucius Caſſius, the nephew of the general, and the young Cato, brother in-law to Brutus, periſhed in this manner. I am not to paſs over here in ſilence the ſpectre which is ſaid

[c] *Plutarch.*
[d] *Dion, Appian, Plutarch.*

to

to have appeared to Brutus, while he was ſtill in Aſia preparing to go into Macedonia, and foretold him his diſaſter, if what is ſaid of it be true. For Brutus having asked it, without appearing ſurpriſed at ſo extraordinary an object, what it was, the phantom anſwered, "I am thy evil genius, and will "meet thee at Philippi." I will meet thee there, replied Brutus, with unconcern and compoſure. They add, that according to this threat, the genius appeared again, and ſhewed itſelf to Brutus when he was drawing out his army for the battle.

Yet there are ſome authors, who render this part of the hiſtory ſuſpected, [e] and would have it believed, that this might have been invented from a mere fortuitous accident, more worthy of laughter than aſtoniſhment. For they ſay, the firſt man who preſented himſelf to the army, when they broke into Cæſar's camp, was an ugly deformed Ethiopian, whoſe black grim viſage frighted the firſt ſoldier: ſo that there is not a little probability, that this accident might have given riſe to the hiſtory of the phantom, unleſs we chuſe to believe, with ſome others, it was a pure effect of Brutus's imagination, and of a dream which he had in Aſia, when he was upon the point of paſſing over into Europe; for being fallen aſleep after having made deep reflections on the war, his fancy, full of thoſe

[e] *Plutarch, Florus.*

terrible

terrible ideas, formed to itself during its sleep, the apparition and discourse with this phantom; and this image made so strong an impression upon his senses, that his sleep being broke, he still thought he saw and heard the same things, confounding his dream with the reasoning which he made upon it after he was awake.

As for the rest, historians describe this battle to us as one of the most bloody that ever was fought; yet they make no mention of the number of the dead, but content themselves with saying, that it was near equal on both sides. However they inform us [c], that Cæsar and Antony acquitted themselves of the promise which they had made their army, and gave rewards not only to the twenty eight legions, that had passed over into Macedonia, but likewise to six others that had remained behind in Italy: which munificence in all amounted to three hundred and sixteen millions of livres.

This liberality, as excessive as it appears, ought not to seem incredible to us, since Antony had raised in the lesser Asia alone two hundred thousand talents, which were dissipated in this expedition. He had likewise ordered a second tax, but he ceased to exact it upon the remonstrances of the deputies of the province, who represented to him, that they were exhausted by the pay-

[c] *Dion, Appian.*

ment

ment which they had made; and if he would have two taxes one year, he ought to have the power of commanding Heaven to give two ſummers and two harveſts.

The wreck of Brutus's army ſubmitted themſelves the following day to Cæſar and Antony, who paid all honour to this famous head of the republican party, covering his body with a robe of purple and ſending it to Rome to Servilia, but the ſhip on which it was embarked was loſt.

This was the end of ſo famous a war, which decided the liberty of Rome, and eſtabliſhed the fortune of Cæſar. For, Brutus and Caſſius being dead, there remained no more heads of the republic capable of defending it; and young Pompey was ſoon overcome in Sicily, as we ſhall mention hereafter.

But further, tho' there is leſs of reaſon than fatality in all the revolutions of empires and governments, of which heaven diſpoſes as it pleaſes; yet one may perceive by this hiſtory on one ſide many faults, which were the moſt apparent cauſes of the ruin of that party; and on the other ſeveral actions of great prudence and diſcernment, which we may look upon as the beſt known ſprings of the ſucceſſes of the victorious party.

The ſenate and conſpirators had a good deſign, becauſe they thought on nothing but of freeing their country from ſlavery; but the means which they employed to ſucceed in this were too violent in the beginning, and too

too remiſs in the end. They might have waited for with patience the natural death of the dictator, who had given no other certain hope to Octavius, but that of poſſeſſing his own private fortune; for Cæſar had not dared to inſtitute him public heir of the empire by his will. But ſince the conſpirators had committed a crime which the ſenate judged uſeful to the republic, they ought to have ſupported them, and not have ſuffered as they did the will of Cæſar to be read publicly, and his laſt liberalities be known by all Rome, which animated the people and legions to revenge him; but the true reaſon is, mankind almoſt always carry violence and remiſſneſs too far, and know not how to be either vigorous or moderate within the juſt bounds of reaſon.

We muſt likewiſe grant, that the particular animoſity which Cicero had againſt Antony, made the ſenate change its ſentiment, who knew not how to make their advantage of that diviſion which was betwixt him and Cæſar. For inſtead of courting Antony, and condeſcending to him in ſome things, who was an enemy they might have eaſily reconciled, not being bound to any party, but by intereſt, and ſo a greater intereſt would have gained him, they turned univerſally towards Cæſar, whoſe engagements by his adoption made him irreconcilable to the commonwealth.

Add to this the little reſolution of Caſſius and Brutus, who were as weak in fact as they appeared magnanimous; for, tho' animated

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by the juſtice of their cauſe, and the great deſtiny of Rome, for which they fought, they could not bear up under the leaſt diſgrace, or ſupport themſelves with true courage when thrown down by fortune, tho' only for a ſhort time, as if ſhe had an inflexible, irreconcilable averſion to them. They committed two faults: At firſt by yielding too eaſily to the heat of the ſoldiers, they loſt by precipitation a victory they would have infallibly gained by patience; and after this, being in a condition of making great advantages, by thoſe reſources which were left them in Aſia, and even Italy itſelf, whither perhaps it would not have been impoſſible for them to retire, they ruſhed upon their own death without neceſſity, becauſe they had not the magnanimity to face future dangers and hardſhips.

One may reckon on the other ſide, amongſt the probable cauſes of ſucceſs of the Cæſarian party, the ſtrict union of Octavius with Antony, which was as beneficial to their intereſt as fatal to their enemies; that diſpatch, or rather rapidity, with which they paſſed over into Macedonia, inſtead of waiting for their enemies in Italy, knowing well, that an enemy who is purſued is already half overcome; the approved bravery of theſe troops, accuſtomed to conqueſt, fluſhed with the defeat of Pompey, and the other enemies of Julius Cæſar, and ſtill more than this, their high-raiſed valor, ſupported by the attraction of the

the largeſt recompences. For whilſt the troops of Brutus and Caſſius fought for the ideas of glory and liberty, objects of too refined a nature to influence any long time groſs and ſenſual ſouls, thoſe of the triumvirs fought for the pillage of the moſt opulent cities, and thoſe immenſe riches which they diſtributed to them with incredible profuſion. In a word, the Cæſarians being conquerors, who enriched their ſoldiers at the expence of the people, had not the love of the people; but they poſſeſſed the hearts of the ſoldiers: the conſpirators, on the contrary, ſtanding in the point of light, as being deliverers of the republic, and thinking of nothing but eſtabliſhing tranquillity and order, they attracted the univerſal love of the calmer part of the people; but they were more admired than loved by their ſoldiers, who are always more greedy of plunder and licence, than of true honor, and unſtained glory.

THE LIFE OF AUGUSTUS.

PART I.

BOOK III.

WHILE the arms of Cæsar and Antony had such happy success in Macedonia[g], their fleet was beat upon the Ionian sea, by the naval forces commanded by Marcus and Domitius. We have already said, that these two lieutenants of the conspirators, who were cruising upon this sea with one hundred and fifty ships, had not been able to hinder Cæsar and Antony from disembarking twenty legions at Durazzo. But they hindered [h] afterwards Calvinus from landing with two other legions, and the præ-

[g] *Year of Rome* 712. [h] *Dion, Appian.*

torian

torian band of Cæſar, which conſiſted of two thouſand men. Theſe troops not being ready when Cæſar departed, Calvinus had orders to embark and convoy them. As ſoon as they were arrived, this admiral ſet ſail with a favourable wind; but he was diſcovered by the enemy, who, incloſing him on all ſides with a more numerous and better equipped fleet than his, were not a long time in gaining the victory. Their ſhips broke with their beaks the ſhips of Calvinus, and their warlike machines by continual diſcharges brought down their bridges and caſtles, and put all into diſorder. Some ſaved themſelves; but a calm ſucceeding hindered the others from doing the ſame; and their enemies attacking them ſeparately, and coming up ſeveral againſt one, eaſily made them priſoners, or ſunk them to the bottom. Calvinus thought to remedy this diſorder, by finding means of joining the ſhips, and binding them to one another with cables; perſuading himſelf that his forces being thus united, he would be the better able to defend himſelf. But Marcus having obſerved his deſign, which he gave leiſure to Calvinus of executing, no ſooner he ſaw his veſſels embarraſſed with their cordages, but he ſent barges with artificial fires to deſtroy them.

It was then that deſpair ſeizing on the Cæſarians, they did every thing to free them-

[h] *Dion, Appian.*

ſelves

ſelves from this conflagration, by cutting their cables more haſtily than they had bound them. Some of them, to avoid being conſumed by the flames, flung themſelves into the ſea, and ſo were drowned: for the mind being once diſordered by fear, always thinks the danger it avoids greater than what it expoſes itſelf to. Others more happy were driven to ſhore againſt rocks and ſhelves, but ſaved themſelves with difficulty. There were ſome ſhips half-burnt down, floating ſome days upon the ſeas without any proviſion, being forced to boil leather and greaſe to ſupport their life till they could gain land, where they were no ſooner arrived, but they went to ſurrender themſelves to the enemy. Domitius took ſeventeen of Calvinus's ſhips, but the admiral had the good fortune to eſcape, and land five days afterwards at Brunduſium, from whence they had ſet ſail.

The news of this was brought to the camp of Philippi, a little before the ſecond battle, the ſucceſs of which comforted the conquerors for the loſs of their naval forces, and obliged thoſe of Brutus's and Pompey's party, who began again to raiſe their heads, to ſeek for an aſylum, ſome with Marcus and Domitius, and others with Pompey, the Rhodians having furniſhed them with thirty ſhips for their paſſage.

Domitius, as if he had a mind to make a third party, ſeparated himſelf from Marcus, and kept out to ſea; but Marcus, ſeeing the winter

winter come on, judged it proper to enter into the ports of Sicily. Pompey received him with all the praiſes, that the victory he had lately gained deſerved, and ſhewed at the ſame time a great compaſſion for the miſfortunes of Brutus and Caſſius, and for the melancholy condition of the fugitives of that unhappy party.

But Cæſar and Antony, after having made ſolemn ſacrifices to thank their gods, conſulted together what they ſhould do to complete the ruin of their enemies. It was reſolved that Cæſar ſhould return to Italy, that he might ſecure it againſt the invaſions of Pompey, whoſe ſhips were maſters at ſea, and hindered proviſions from coming to Rome, where the people already began to murmur. Cæſar likewiſe took upon him the care of ſatisfying the ſoldiers or the promiſe which had been made them, of eighteen of the richeſt cities in the empire, and of finding an expedient of ſaving ſo many innocent people without diſcontenting the army. But Antony took upon him the commiſſion of viſiting all the cities of Greece and the leſſer Aſia, not only to keep them in obedience, but draw from them that money they had need of, their treaſury being quite exhauſted by thoſe liberalities they had given to the ſoldiers. We will therefore diſmiſs him to follow Cæſar into Italy, where his great qualities were to be fully employed by the artifices of the ambitious Fulvia.

Scarce had he put himſelf upon his journey, but the diſtemper which he had neglected, that he might be preſent at the battle of Philippi, took him again in ſuch ſort, that with much difficulty he regained Brunduſium, where he was obliged to continue the whole winter. As ſoon as he found himſelf better, he went to Rome, where Fulvia had already induſtriouſly ſpread a report of his death. She was thoroughly ſurpriſed to ſee him living, and in a condition of diſſipating all her cabals. The firſt thing he did was to take under his own enſigns two legions who had ſworn fidelity to Antony, and oblige the commanders to reſign him theſe troops, after he had ſhewed them the orders of their general. He after this ſent a meſſage to Sextius, lieutenant of Lepidus in Libya, ordering him to come from thence, and leave the government of it to him, who ſhould take poſſeſſion in his and Antony's name. This province was aſſigned to Cæſar proviſionally, expecting the iſſue of the Macedonian war, after which Antony and he had made a new diviſion of the world, by excluding Lepidus, whom they had ſuſpected of having had intelligence with Pompey; but Lepidus had ſeized upon a part of this province, whichhe had given the lieutenancy of to Sextius, whom Cæſar diſpoſſeſſed by ſending Fagius in his place.

Theſe ſecurities being taken, he thought of ſatisfying the ſoldiers without abandoning to

their

their discretion those towns he had promised them the plunder of. He therefore resolved on a more moderate expedient, which was to distribute lands to the legions, and to make colonies of them, who continuing out of Rome, and employing themselves in the cultivation of their farms, should not lose the right of Roman citizens. Julius Cæsar had already established many of this kind in Italy, notwithstanding the murmur of the senators, who appropriating to themselves these lands, tho' they were the real patrimony of the republic, did not willingly suffer them to be distributed to the soldiers. Seeing then that Octavius Cæsar, after the example of his predecessor, was going to take from them large lands, and considerable revenues, they endeavoured by all sorts of artifices to ruin this enterprize, representing to the people, that it was a snare laid for their liberty, whom he was going to oppress under the specious pretence of lightening their burden; because the inhabitants of these colonies would be [h] vassals of Cæsar, and as such claiming a right in the committee of elections with other tribunes, would dispose by the plurality of voices, as they pleased, of the choice of magistrates.

Fulvia, joining with the senate, drew over to her party the consul Lucius Antonius, brother of the triumvir, who complained

[h] *Clients.*

that Cæſar undertook things beyond his agreement with Marc Antony, and that after having taken from him two legions, he would ſoon win over the others, by corrupting them with his unbounded liberality; ſo that if he were let alone, he would ſoon uſurp all the authority of the triumvirate, and deprive Antony of power, as he had already done Lepidus.

Fulvia had more ambition than even Antony himſelf, who was oftentimes forced to bend to the haughty temper of this woman [i]; ſo that it was no very difficult matter for Cleopatra, whom he fell in love with afterwards, to hold him in an abſolute dependence, when he had been accuſtomed to the yoke before by Fulvia.

This imperious woman aſpired to unrivalled power [k], not bearing a concurrence in Cæſar. She gained over likewiſe to her party Lucius Manius a turbulent man, and obliged Lucius Antonius to oppoſe, in virtue of his conſulſhip, the publication of the edict about the colonies.

On the other ſide, Manius and ſhe animated the ſoldiers to revolt, and after having given a ſorry deſcription of thoſe lands, which were to be diſtributed them, they further told them, they would permit them on the part of Antony to put themſelves in poſſeſſion of the forfeited eſtates, and ſeize on

[i] *Plutarch.* [k] *Dion, Appian.*

thoſe

those cities whose pillage had been promised them, without their being obliged to take the equivalent which Cæsar would have them; and Fulvia, to move them the more, brought them the children she had had by Antony, putting them, as she said, under their protection[l]; she even went so far as to appear in a soldier's dress, with a sword by her side as a general, and took a pleasure in performing all the functions. The legions passed in review before her, and she distributed their pay herself. The soldiers, being won by those martial airs, and the more persuasive hopes of plunder, applauded her generous harangue, and assured her of their fidelity.

In the mean time the army, believing this authority enough[m], seized on towns, which they entered like conquered places, pillaged houses, and forced the burghers to redeem themselves, as so many lawful prisoners of war.

Cæsar, being informed of these disorders, resolved to put a stop to them by the publication of his edict, notwithstanding the discontent of the senate, and the opposition of the council. He therefore ordered, that the legions should appear under their respective ensigns in the Campus Martius, where he would divide certain lands to them, which they should afterwads go and cultivate. All the soldiers came early in the morning,

[l] *Florus, Dion.* [m] *Appian.*

but in a ſpirit of mutiny, ſo inflamed by the mad promiſes of Fulvia, that Cæſar ſtaying too long in their opinion, they broke out into downright ſeditious diſcourſe; and paſſing from words to blows, they fell upon one of their centurions, who had a mind to keep them in their duty, and having maſſacred him in a temple whither he was fled, they expoſed his body in the highway by which Cæſar was to paſs. His friends diſſuaded him from ſhewing himſelf to the troops who were capable of any extravagance after ſuch an action; but, purſuing his way, he only turned a little out of the road where the body of the centurion was uncovered, not to ſet his anger on a flame, which he had a mind to diſſemble. Being come to the place of the aſſembly, he aſcended his tribunal, and without any emotion appearing on his face, whoſe ſerenity and majeſty commanded reſpect, he ſaid: "He was ſorry to have "heard of the murder of the centurion; "that they ought to have complained to "their general, if this officer had done them "wrong, and not take the execution of "juſtice into their own hands; but yet, out "of his regard for the innocent, he pardoned "the guilty; that they ought to take care "not to abuſe his clemency, and be more "moderate for the future."

He, after this, publiſhed his edict, and diſtributed the lands he had deſigned, adding to them new liberalities, to recompenſe the diſtin-

diſtinguiſhed affection of ſome officers, and cauſe an emulation in the reſt. This procedure was ſo agreeable to the army, that, paſſing on a ſudden from mutiny to ſubmiſſion, they firſt ſhewed their repentance by their ſilence, and confuſion; afterwards addreſſing themſelves to Cæſar by the interpoſition of their officers, they prayed him to pardon them, and yet to puniſh the immediate murderers of the centurion: but his generoſity was above pardoning by halves. It was thus by his moderation and heroic courage he appeaſed a dangerous ſedition, the poſſible conſequence of which he diſſembled, rather than deſpiſed. He afterwards marched his troops into the territory of Abruzzum, where thoſe lands were, that he had aſſigned the army.

The intrigues of Fulvia had carried things to an extremity, and ſhe had like to have been the death of Cæſar [n]: yet he took no more revenge of her, but to ſend her back her daughter, with whom he had not conſummated his marriage, upon account of the too tender age of Clodia. But this divorce gave her a new ſubject of hating Cæſar; and ſhe did her utmoſt to hinder the legions from entering upon their colonies; making the conſul believe, that Cæſar had ſent his troops into that place to ſeize on Antony's children, who made their reſi-

[n] *Dion, Appian, Suetonius.*

dence there. So that the conſul making haſte to prevent the legions, there would have probably been blood ſpilt, if the officers of the army had not met him on the road, and endeavoured to appeaſe this difference, whoſe conſequences could not but be dangerous to the republic.

Theſe officers were, for the moſt part, perſons of patrician dignity, ſons of ſenators, or ſenators themſelves. Thus whatever affection they had to Cæſar's party, they had ſtill ſtronger ties and obligations to the ſenate. This was the cauſe, that in the conference they had with the conſul, they conſidered leſs the advantages of their general, than thoſe of the republic, having agreed to the following articles: 1. That the government of the commonwealth ſhould continue in the hands of the conſul, without the triumvirs interfering in it for the time to come. 2. That no lands ſhould be diſtributed to any other legions than thoſe that had been preſent at the battle of Philipi *. 3. That no one ſhould touch the public treaſure, nor the eſtates of the proſcribed. 4. That the armies of Cæſar and Antony ſhould be diſbanded, and that it ſhould not be permitted them to raiſe new troops. 5. That Cæſar ſhould have free paſſage for thoſe legions he ſent into Spain, as well as thoſe he called thence. 6. That

* *Appian.*

Lucius

Lucius ſhould return to Rome, where he ſhould exerciſe his conſulſhip in full liberty.

This treaty was concluded without the knowledge of Cæſar, and it was too diſadvantageous to his intereſt to be confirmed by him. Yet he diſſembled his diſpleaſure, and making advantage of that article, which aſſured to him the paſſage of his legions, he was politic enough to avoid the execution of the reſt, and preſerve to himſelf the affection of the army, and the favour of the ſenate. For he ſhewed them, that his enemies did not execute this treaty with ſincerity, but continuing, in arms themſelves, put him under a neceſſity of keeping his troops on the ſame footing, proteſting notwithſtanding, he would continue on the defenſive, and undertake nothing, till he ſhould be forced to it by the hoſtilities of Antony's party. There was no leſs prudence than moderation in this conduct, which flung upon his aggreſſors all the odium of the war.

In the mean time Fulvia attacked Cæſar on all ſides, and, not content to ſtir up in Italy the ſoldiers to rebellion, ſhe ſolicited Sextius in Afric to enter upon the lieutenancy of that province Cæſar had diſpoſſeſſed him of, without conſidering that this had been a thing reſolved on with Antony; it mattering nothing to this paſſionate lawleſs woman, by what means ſhe deſtroyed Cæſar. She therefore ſent money and troops

to Sextius, [p] and recommended him to those allied princes which were in her interest, that they might assist him with all their forces. Sextius with these succours having raised a powerful army, pursued Fagius Cæsar's lieutenant, forced him to a battle, and defeated him. Fagius, not being able to hinder the slaughter of his legions, slew himself with his own hand. Thus Sextius entered again upon the government of the metropolis, and new Libya, which he took possession of in the name of Antony, whereas, before, he had exercised it in the name of Lepidus.

Fulvia negotiated, at the same time, a league with Pompey, giving him to understand, that being master of Sicily himself, and Antony of Afric, it was easy for them to inclose Cæsar in Italy, and be the cause of his death; but Cæsar, to break off so dangerous an alliance, re-established Lepidus in his part of the government of Africa, adding to it that part which had belonged to himself, [q] exhorting him to depart with all diligence, and reassume his authority in that province. He thus regained Lepidus by this beneficence, and in reconciling him, made him, an enemy to Antony and Pompey.

But Fulvia practised upon Bocchus king of the Mauruſii, who declared against Cæsar, and beat Carina his lieutenant in the western Africa [r].

[p] *Appian.* [q] *Dion, Appian.* [r] *Appian.*

Cæsar

Cæſar ſeeing himſelf obliged by all theſe commotions to take up arms, would juſtify the neceſſity of them before the ſenate. Having then convened it ſolemnly, and invited the Roman knights to be preſent, he repreſented to them, "That he had hoped the "civil wars were extinguiſhed by the death "of Brutus and Caſſius; but that he ſaw "new troubles ariſing from the ambition of "Fulvia, and the partiality of the conſul "her brother-in-law, who animated the "ſoldiers to revolt even at the gates of "Rome, and employed in foreign provinces "the troops of barbarous princes to cut in "pieces the Roman armies; that he had "aſſembled them together to find a means "to put a ſtop to theſe violences, without "coming to an open war; that the blood "of the citizens being ſo dear to him as "it really was, he had deſigned to have "ſpared it, without troubling himſelf about "the reflections that his enemies might caſt "upon his moderation, which they would "not fail of imputing to cowardice; but "he ſubmitted all theſe differences to the "authority of the ſenate, praying them to "interpoſe for an accommodation, and de-"clare themſelves enemies of ſuch as ſhould "refuſe their mediation."

This diſcourſe was very agreeable to the aſſembly[s], who thanked Cæſar for his mode-

[s] *Appian.*

ration, and ſent deputies to the conſul to inform him of the peace. He was very much diſpoſed to it, his natural temper being very different to that of his brother, and inclining him to embrace all expedients which might ſecure the public repoſe; but he was not maſter of his own will; Fulvia and Manius would have a war, and forced him into their ſentiments, by repreſenting to him, that Cæſar only made theſe propoſitions of peace to ſurpriſe them all. Thus the deputies being returned without effecting any thing, and Cæſar having juſtified the equity of his arms, which thoſe themſelves, who were not in his intereſt, could not blame, he departed from Rome, the government of which he left to Lepidus, who had not ſtayed in Afric, and went himſelf to join his own army. He had given the lieutenancy of it to Agrippa, who had it ready in the little towns neighbouring to Rome. It was that Agrippa whom fortune and his merit raiſed afterwards to ſo high a point of glory, that, notwithſtanding the lowneſs of his birth, he was honored with the affinity of Cæſar[t].

Lucius re-entering Rome, as ſoon as Cæſar was departed, drove Lepidus out of it, a man of an effeminate courage, and without authority. He then aſſembled the ſenate and people, and declared to them, that he had not taken up arms but to re-eſtabliſh the

[t] *Tacitus.*

common-

commonwealth, which the triumvirs were going to oppreſs; that the ſenate and people ought not to let themſelves be deluded by the falſe appearances of a deceitful peace, which Cæſar did not propoſe to them, but with a deſign of defaming their conſul, and afterwards deſtroying all thoſe good citizens who were averſe to tyranny. As Lucius was very ſincere, and his zeal for his country very well known by all, his diſcourſe made ſuch an impreſſion on the ſpirits of the whole aſſembly, that they ſwore to embrace his party, acknowledging the war he was going to have with Cæſar to be juſt, and declaring him head of the republican army, againſt all thoſe who had a deſign of overthrowing its liberty.

Having thus re-eſtabliſhed his authority in Rome, he went out of it again, after having recommended the republic to the ſenate[u], and returned to his army, being followed by ſeveral perſons of quality, amongſt whom were Tiberius Claudius Nero, who carried with him his wife Livia, and their little ſon Tiberius, who was then but a child. Thus ſhe, who was to marry Cæſar, and he who ſucceeded him in the empire, fled from him as their greateſt enemy; ſo great inconſtancy is there, and uncertainty in all human things!

In the mean time, Lucius having underſtood, that Salvidienus, who was bringing back ſix legions from Spain, had already

[u] *Dion, Appian, Suetonius.*

paſſed

paſſed the Alps[w], he marched out to meet him, with a deſign to give him battle before he had joined Cæſar. But Agrippa, to make a diverſion, entered the Milaneſe, believing that Lucius would come to the ſuccour of a province which favored his party, and would not ſuffer it to be pillaged. The ſcheme ſucceeded, and the conſul, having haſted up with his beſt troops, left the paſſages open for Salvidienus, who ſoon joined Agrippa. Perceiving themſelves then ſtrong enough to attack their enemies, they marched againſt them, but Lucius not daring to riſque a battle, ſhut himſelf up in Peruſium, where Cæſar upon his arrival reſolved to beſiege him. He labored with all diligence to incloſe the town[x], and made a work which contained three leagues in circuit, beyond which he continued an intrenchment with paliſades, as far as the Tiber. Lucius on his ſide prepared for a vigorous defence, and Fulvia forgot nothing to aſſiſt him. She ſent to Ventidius and Aſinius, who were in Gaul, to oblige them to come in perſon with all their forces; but Cæſar, having had notice of it, departed with Agrippa, giving orders to his lieutenants to continue on the ſiege, and went himſelf to meet his enemies. They durſt not advance further, nor wait for him; but retired one of them to Ravennæ, and the other to Rimini. Cæſar returning after this,

[w] *Appian.* [x] *Dion, Appian, Florus.*

preſſed

preſſed vigorouſly the ſiege[y], and having advanced his intrenchments nearer the walls of the city, he enlarged them ſixty foot, having ordered fifteen wooden towers to be built, the tops of which were covered from the town batteries. He made theſe towers of the height of the city - walls, and placed a number of ſoldiers upon the platforms, armed with arrows and ſtones to drive to a diſtance whatever appeared from the town, and keep all proviſions from coming in; ſo that not being well provided, it was in a ſmall time reduced to the utmoſt extremity. Lucius, who had not been able to hinder this work, held a council with the principal perſons of the city and army, in which it was reſolved, that they ſhould make a ſally at break of day to overthrow the towers, and fill up the ditch. They put in execution this deſign: the ditch was filled up, and ſome of the towers were overthrown; but for want of ladders high enough to ſcale the rampart, upon which theſe towers were raiſed, the enterprize had not its deſired effect. Lucius obliged his men, who ſuffered themſelves to be killed at the foot of the rampart, to reenter the town, and after having praiſed their boldneſs, he ſhewed the neceſſity there was of a capitulation. The ſoldiers and inhabitants, who feared falling into the hands of Cæſar, of whom they had declared them-

[y] *Appian.*

ſelves

ſelves openly enemies, choſe rather to ſuffer any thing than ſurrender; but Lucius, who would not loſe ſo many brave men, obliged them to ſend deputies to Cæſar. They therefore ſent three, who offered to give up the place, upon condition that all the inhabitants ſhould have their lives ſecure. Cæſar, having heard them, made anſwer, that he would pardon thoſe inhabitants and ſoldiers who were of Antony's party before the inſurrection; but that he would have given up all the traitors and ſeditious perſons who had been authors of it. Then drawing one of the deputies aſide, he gave him to underſtand, that he would have delivered up all thoſe who had any ſhare in the murder of Cæſar. The deputies, being returned, gave an account of their commiſſion in preſence of the army and people, when the general aſſembly diſapproved of the private converſation one of them had had with Cæſar, and concluded, that they muſt ſend others, not being able to give credit to what a man ſaid, who had not underſtood his duty. Lucius promiſed them to do this, and, having diſmiſſed them, he went out by a ſecret gate, and came in Sight of Cæſar, accompanied by two officers of the army; believing he might gain more by this frankneſs, than by a negotiation in form of treaty, which at laſt muſt conclude in the pleaſure of the victor. But he clearly ſhewed, that he did not ſeek his own private intereſt; for he asked nothing for himſelf, and only begged

begged the ſaving the people of the city. Neither did he ſeek to move the conqueror by a mean ſubmiſſion; but reſpecting the fortune of Cæſar, he maintained at the ſame time what he thought due to the honor of his conſulſhip.

Cæſar, who had ſeen him coming, went to receive him at the brink of the ditch, not being accompanied with more than Agrippa, and one of his lieutenants, to equal the attendants of the conſul, and anſwer that confidence which he had put in him. After the cuſtomary ſalutation, Lucius ſaid, "That "he was not come to excuſe any thing he "had done; nor had he taken up arms, "but to re-eſtabliſh the commonwealth in "that authority which the triumvirate had "taken from it; and that he was no leſs op-"poſite to the power of Antony than that "of Cæſar: but that ſince the gods had "not pleaſed to proſper his deſign, he was "come himſelf to deliver up the author of "the war, and asked mercy for a city and "ſoldiers who had committed no other "crime than that of obeying the conſul. "As for the reſt, he hoped from Cæſar's "moderation, that he would treat favorably "the relations of Antony that were in the "town, and rather chuſe to ſhew them marks "of his clemency, than give them proof "of his ſeverity." Cæſar anſwered him; "That by asking nothing for himſelf or fa-"mily, he had obtained all; that he "ſhould

" ſhould always ſtudy to practiſe the vir-
" tues of his father, but particularly his
" diſtinguiſhed mercy and lenity; that he
" pardoned him freely what an incon-
" ſiderate zeal had made him undertake,
" and ſtill made him ſay; that he would
" not oblige him to change his ſenti-
" ments or conduct, but by thoſe marks
" of eſteem and friendſhip which he ſhould
" be ready to give him on all occaſions."
He added, " that out of conſideration to
" him, he would forget the injuries he had
" received from that city, and pardon fully
" all, with exception to thoſe traitors and
" accomplices in the aſſaſſination of his
" father, whom he could not diſpenſe with
" himſelf from puniſhing. And as for what
" concerned the army, he aſſured him he
" would make no diſtinction betwixt his
" own ſoldiers and thoſe of Lucius, far
" from retaining any reſentment of the war
" they had raiſed againſt him." The treaty
was concluded on theſe conditions, and the
city reduced to its obedience to Cæſar.

Such was the end of a war, which was
going to ſet all Italy on a flame[z], and drive
Cæſar to the laſt extremities, if his valor and
prudence had not delivered him out of them.
Yet the public blamed him for the murder
of three hundred ſenators, whom he ſacri-
ficed at the altar of Julius Cæſar; and they

[z] *Dion, Appian.*

ſaid

ſaid, that under a pretence of revenging his father, he ſatisfied his own private hatred.

As for what remains, he could not hinder the city from being conſumed to aſhes [a] by the fury of a ſoldier, who, having a mind to diſtinguiſh himſelf by a brutiſh action, ſet fire to his houſe, and flung himſelf into it, that he might not fall into the hands of the conqueror; for an impetuous wind, ariſing at the ſame time, ſpread the conflagration from houſe to houſe with ſo much violence, that they could bring no aſſiſtance, and all the city was reduced to a heap of rubbiſh.

The lieutenants of Antony, after the ruin of the conſul, [b] whoſe whole army went over to Cæſar, did not think themſelves ſafe in Italy, [c] tho' they had ſtill thirteen legions in three bodies commanded by Ventidius, Aſinius, and Plancus. They therefore returned to thoſe maritime places which looked towards Macedonia, to the end that they might wait with ſafety for Antony, or paſs over to him in caſe Cæſar ſhould purſue them. Thus ſome of them remained at Ravennæ, others at Brunduſium, and ſome at Tarentum. There were alſo ſome troops which went over to the army of Domitius Enobarbus. Aſinius went to him likewiſe, but it was with a deſign of joining Antony, for whom he knew Domitius himſelf had an

[a] *Appian.* [b] *Year of Rome* 714. [c] *Dion, Appian.*

affec-

affection. Plancus with three thousand horse escorted Fulvia, who went to Brundusium, from whence he conducted her by sea to Athens. She waited for Antony there, whom the reiterated news of all these commotions obliged at length to leave Alexandria, and separate himself from the arms of Cleopatra, who was become the object of all his love, since the battle of Philippi.

But Cæsar, managing the favors of fortune, endeavoured to reunite with his own party those legions and provinces which were in the division of Antony's government. He went into Gaul, where Fusius had commanded, a man of merit, and very much affected to Antony. But being lately dead, and his son not having the same fidelity, or the same inclinations, delivered up his army, composed of eleven legions, to Cæsar [d]. Cæsar would not force any one, and gave free leave to those officers who asked it of retiring to Antony, filling up their places with more faithful persons.

Cæsar, now seeing his strength so great, and being sure of Gaul, thought of making himself the entire master of Italy, and of driving out of their garisons those troops which Antony had put in the maritime places. In this design he drew near to Brundusium, and having driven thence those of the opposite party, he flung five legions into it, that

[d] *Dion*, *Appian*.

he

he might thereby hinder the communication of that army which Antony had in Italy, with that he had in Macedonia.

In the mean time Antony, having put himself on board his fleet, had left Alexandria [c], and, coasting along Asia, he arrived at Tyre, went to Cyprus, came to Rhodes, where he made a short stay, and landed at Athens. He found Fulvia there, whom he received very ill, being thoroughly provoked at the bad success of his affairs in Europe, which he knew had been caused by her ambition, and ill conduct, and besides having his heart filled with another passion: he notwithstanding took her along with him to bring her back into Italy, where he was resolved to go, to re-establish his weakened authority: but he was forced to leave her sick at Sicyone in Peloponnesus. For himself, continuing his route, he came to Corsica, and entering the Ionian sea, he sailed towards Italy, designing to disembark in the neighbourhood of Brundusium.

He was not far from land when the fleet of Enobarbus appeared, who, having discovered them, came towards them with full sail. Antony's lieutenant, having known the colours, counselled him to recover the sea by withdrawing from his enemy, because he was afraid their fleet would surround them.

[c] *Appian.*

But

But Antony believing it concerned his dignity, not to fly before a lieutenant of the conſpirators, would not do ſo; but taking with him about five frigates, he gained the wind, ſailing with ſpread ſails towards the fleet that approached them. When they were near enough the enemy to be heard, the officer who was on guard at the head of the admiral's ſhip where Antony was, cried out to Enobarbus, to lower his ſails before the Roman general [f]. And whether this boldneſs aſtoniſhed the enemy, or the thing was already concluded upon, they immediately lowered their ſails; and a moment after, Enobarbus, having ſtruck his colours, left his ſhip, and came to Antony. At the ſame time were heard the acclamations of the ſoldiers, and the ſound of trumpets, which was continued very far along the ſeas, and winding coaſts. Having ſet ſail again, they landed at Pallentum and Enobarbus, continuing to pay the ſame honours to Antony, reſigned to him his own lodging.

They gave the reſt of the day to the refreſhment of their troops, and marched the day following at the head of their legions towards Brunduſium. Antony thought the credit he had in the place would have made him be received there, having himſelf no war with Cæſar, diſallowing all that Lucius and Fulvia had done in his abſence, and

[f] *Appian.*

without

without his knowledge. But the commander refuſed him entrance, grounding his refuſal upon this reaſon, that he had Enobarbus with him, who was ſuſpected of having a ſhare in Cæſar's murder. Antony, who believed that this was but a pretence, prepared himſelf to enter the town by force, and laid ſiege to it. This place was the key of Italy, on the ſide of the Ionian ſea, ſo that it was of great conſequence to Antony for the communication of his armies, and the provinces of Aſia. It is almoſt ſurrounded by the ſea, not being joined to the land but by a neck, where Antony pitched his camp, the extent of which took up all the avenues, by which Cæſar might approach to ſuccour it, while his fleet, joined with that of Enobarbus, beſieged it by ſea.

At the ſame time Pompey, having made a league with Antony[g] by the interpoſition of Enobarbus, ſent four legions into Sardinia, who ſeized on the iſland, and his fleet poſſeſſed itſelf of Coſenza in Calabria. Theſe loſſes which Cæſar ſuffered were followed by the taking of Sipontus, which was carried by one of the lieutenants of Antony. Thus Cæſar ſaw all Italy in trouble, and Pompey's power joined with that of Antony gave him uneaſineſs. His marriage with Scribonia[h] was of great uſe in breaking the meaſures of his enemies. She was widow of Scipio, and

[g] *Appian.* [h] *Dion.*

ſiſter

ſiſter to Libonius, who being likewiſe brother-in-law to Pompey, was a very proper perſon to reconcile him with Cæſar. But this reconciliation was not effected ſoon, and Cæſar ſaw himſelf reduced to great extremities before its concluſion. We muſt now return to the ſiege of Brunduſium.

Cæſar left Rome, whither he had gone to marry Scribonia, the day after his marriage; and made all poſſible haſte to the ſuccour of Brunduſium. The enemy's camp being too well fortified to force it, he reſolved to draw his own quite round it, ſo that he held the beſiegers beſieged in their own intrenchments.

In the mean time Agrippa took again Sipontus, and the people of Thuria upon the gulph of Tarentum obliged Pompey to raiſe the ſiege which he had begun againſt the city. But theſe good ſucceſſes were tempered by Cæſar's grief for the loſs of Oria. It is now but a wretched village, but it was then a well fortified place, where there were fifteen hundred horſe in gariſon. Antony, who had carried with him more than four hundred for this expedition, did not fear to approach the place, force the out-guard, and enter the town ſword in hand.

Amidſt theſe commotions, and in the greateſt flame of war, a peace was negotiated betwixt Cæſar and Antony, and at length concluded by the addreſs of Cocceius and Julia the mother of Antony. The latter found

found means of perſuading Pompey to return into Sicily for fear his abſence might give room for other commotions and revolts; and Cocceius made Enobarbus take the route of Bithynia, under pretence, that it was neceſſary to have a fleet on that ſide to keep the maritime provinces in obedience. For there was reaſon of fearing leſt Enoborbus, who apprehended the reſentment of Cæſar, might hinder the reunion betwixt him and Antony. Theſe obſtacles being removed, Cæſar and Antony had an interview, and renewed their former alliance. The marriage of Octavia, Cæſar's ſiſter, with Antony, who was become a widower, Fulvia having died a little while before at Sicyone, was the bond of this reconciliation[i]. Octavia was widow of Marcellus, who had been dead about ten months; and becauſe the Roman laws did not permit widows to marry before their ten months mourning was intirely completed, the ſenate diſpenſed with the literal rigor of this edict.

Pompey being returned from Sicily, and hearing of this reconciliation, was leſs aſtoniſhed than provoked at the inconſtancy of Antony[k]. He did not yet abandon his own deſigns, and ſeeing Cæſar and Antony in Italy, he took a reſolution which might have ruined them both, if he had proſecuted it with as much ſteadineſs as he had boldneſs in

[i] *Plutarch.* [k] *Appian.*

conceiving, and beginning its execution. For he beſieged them in Italy with his fleets, which he drew out of the ports of Sicily and Sardinia; hindering any proviſions to be brought to Rome, either from the ſide of Aſia, which his fleet, that was poſſeſſed of the ſtreights of Sicily ſhut up, nor from the ſide of Afric, along whoſe ſhores his Sardinian fleet was always cruiſing. So that he held, if I may uſe the expreſſion, this great city by the throat, and rendered uſeleſs the great armies which Cæſar and Antony had in Italy, which ſerved now only to oppreſs the inhabitants. The people, who are always impatient, made ſeveral inſurrections, and demanding bread or peace, aſſociated themſelves in the ſtreets, and killed ſeveral ſoldiers, threatening to maſſacre Cæſar and Antony themſelves, if they did not make peace with Pompey. Libonius endeavoured this reconciliation [l], ſince the marriage of Cæſar with his ſiſter, and he was ſeconded in it by Antony's mother, who was retired to Pompey's protection [m]. The treaty was concluded at the foot of the walls of Puzzolo, where Pompey, who had his fleet at anchor in the ſight of that city, repaired in a galley with Libonius, and Cæſar and Antony appeared upon a bridge of boats which they had built for that occaſion. There was a communication betwixt the galley and this bridge,

[l] *Year of Rome* 715. [m] *Dion, Appian.*

by

by means of a gallery upon which was built the apartment in which the conference was to be held. It lasted three days, and at length the treaty was signed, upon the point when all was going to be broke off. For Pompey having heard what Menas said to him to dissuade him from making peace, because he was going to lose all his advantages by it, he tore his robe, and when Libonius came to tell him all was concluded, he cried out in a despairing fashion, that he was betrayed, and that there was only Menas who was faithful to him. But the importunities of Julia and his own mother, who wished for peace, joined with the persuasions of Libonius, obliged him to ratify the articles. They contained, that Pompey should remain in possession of Sicily, and the islands of Corsica and Sardinia; that he should immediately recall his troops by sea and land, and forbearing such cruising as might incommode Italy, or give it any umbrage; that the other provinces of the republic should be governed by Cæsar and Antony. They made Pompey likewise hope that they would put him into possession of Peloponnesus; and he promised on his side, to give chace to those pirates who infested the commerce of Italy, but these two articles were not put in the treaty; yet the others did not fail afterwards of making them the foundation or pretençe of that war which was kindled betwixt the two parties.

There was no mention made of Lepidus, whom they excluded from the triumvirate by ſubſtituting in his place Pompey; but Cæſar would have him retain the government of Libya. Pompey on his ſide did not forget the intereſts of thoſe who had ſought his protection, and he made them all be comprehended in the treaty, under theſe conditions, that thoſe who had not been mentioned in the liſt of the proſcribed ſhould re-enter upon the full poſſeſſion of their eſtates; that they ſhould reſtore to the others the fourth part of thoſe goods which had been confiſcated; that his ſoldiers ſhould have the ſame recompences as thoſe of Cæſar and Antony; and that the ſlaves that had been faithful to their maſters ſhould be ſet at liberty; in ſuch ſort, that one may ſay, Pompey did very much for others, and nothing for himſelf; for he gained nothing by the treaty, remaining only in the poſſeſſion of Sicily and Sardinia, which his enemies were not in a condition of taking from him; and he loſt all, by abandoning to them Italy, from which he withdrew his fleets; nay he renounced the almoſt certain conqueſt of Rome, and by conſequence that of the empire, had he had a mind to have ſeized on it; or he deprived himſelf of the glory of re-eſtabliſhing the republic, ſhould he have rather choſen to be its reſtorer.

The

The original of this treaty was ſent to the Veſtals at Rome, to whom it was a cuſtom to truſt depoſitums of this nature[n]. The three generals after this treated one another: and as they were in Pompey's galley, who treated them in his turn, Menas whiſpered in his ear, that if he pleaſed, he would diſpatch both his enemies. Thou oughteſt to have done it without telling me, ſays Pompey; but ſince thou wouldeſt have my advice, know, friend, it is not permitted a Roman, and leaſt of all Pompey, to fail of ſincerity to any one; not even to his greateſt enemies. The marriage of young Marcellus ſon of Octavia, whom ſhe had had by her firſt husband, was concluded in theſe rejoicings with a daughter of Pompey; but the tender age of both parties, and the miſunderſtanding which ſoon happened betwixt Cæſar and Pompey, hindered it from being conſummated.

After all theſe diverſions, Pompey returned into Sicily; Cæſar and Antony to Rome, where they were received in the midſt of the people's applauſes, to whom this new alliance was unſpeakably agreeable. They did not only rejoice at Rome; all Italy ſhewed their gladneſs, by the moſt illuſtrious marks they could poſſibly give of it. Wherever they paſſed, they came out in crowds to meet them, filled the air with acclamations and perfumes, ſtrewed the ground with

[n] *Dion, Appian, Plutarch.*

flowers, and to equal them with their gods, they offered ſacrifices to them. But this popular joy was too violent to laſt any long time. However, the winter paſſed over with ſufficient tranquillity. Cæſar went to viſit Gaul upon an information he had received that the people deſigned a revolt; but he quieted all by his preſence.

At his return he divorced Scribonia[o], whom he lived with no longer than a year, tho' he had a daughter by her, ſo well known by the name of Julia, who became not more famous for her lewdneſs than her calamities. We know not certainly the cauſe of this divorce[p]: he himſelf alleged no other, but the uneaſy paſſionate temper of this woman, with whom it was not poſſible for him to live at eaſe. But there is the higheſt probability, that the charms of Livia, of whom he was become enamoured, and married her afterwards, gave him a diſtaſte for Scribonia, and obliged him to divorce her, that he might marry the perſon he loved. The precipitation with which he concluded this marriage permits no one to doubt of it; for he married her when ſhe was ſix months gone with child, without having patience till ſhe was brought to bed, and forced her husband to give his conſent. He removed the ſcruples of religion by conſulting the prieſts, and obtained of them what he pleaſed. He had no

[o] *Year of Rome* 716. [p] *Suetonius.*

chil-

children by this woman, but he adopted those which she had by Tiberius Nero her first husband. As for the rest, perhaps no woman ever had so great a power over the mind of her husband as Livia had over that of Cæsar; and as a person asked her one day how it was possible she should preserve her empire over a heart that seemed always ready to escape her, It is, said she with a smile, by not confining his liberty, but suffering with good humour his amours, while I remain faithful to him myself. In reality she carried her complaisance so far, as to procure him his most favourite mistresses, and made her intimate friends of her very rivals.

In the mean time Antony, after having got the senate to confirm all that he had done in Asia, and what he still hoped to do, departed with Octavia for Athens, where he passed the winter[q]. He here distributed the crowns of Asia to those princes he pleased, and dethroned those who were not agreeable to him. Herod so well known by his cruelties, was in the number of the first; for Antony put him in possession of the kingdom of Judea, to the prejudice of Antigonus, the lawful successor, from whom he was not content to have his crown, but he would have his life too; for Sosius ordered him to be beheaded at Antioch, whither he had been brought under guard [r].

[q] *Appian, Plutarch,* [r] *Plutarch, Josephus.*

During the three first months of abode, which Antony made at Athens, he had so much complaisance for a people fond of ideal liberty, and a popular way of living, that he conformed himself to it, stripping himself of all the pomp and marks of his dignity. He walked the streets on foot, and without attendance, except two of his friends, as a simple freeholder of Athens; visited the schools of philosophers; assisted at their disputes; and would be at the feasts, where Octavia was invited with him. This virtuous Roman lady endeavoured on her side to gain the heart of her husband[s], by the attraction of a sincere amity, and natural sweetness, which she added to the charms of her beauty, that was equal to any in Rome. The Athenians, who admired her distinguished merit, gave her solemn marks of their esteem and veneration.

But the winter being over, Antony returned to his former customs, and that manner of living he had learned in the court of Cleopatra. They saw him surrounded with colonels[t] and lieutenant-generals[u] of his army, superintendents of provinces, princes and kings, allies and tributaries, who came to make their court to him; appearing no more in public but with a royal train; the lictors bore their axes and fasces before him;

[s] *Appian, Plutarch,* [t] *Tribunes.* [u] *Prætors.*

he

he had guards about his perſon, guards before his palace, and gave audience to ambaſſadors ſtanding, while he was ſeated on his tribunal; and, in fine, diſplaying at large all the magnificence of monarchy.

But it is time to return to Pompey: he ſoon repented of the treaty of Puzzolo[w], which Menas had ſhewn him the inconveniency of. So that only ſeeking a pretence to break with Cæſar, he raiſed more troops, and equipped out a greater number of ſhips than he had even in a time of war. And inſtead of putting a ſtop to the robberies of the pirates, as he had promiſed to do, he permitted them to ſail all over the Ionian and Tuſcan ſea, and pillage the ſea-coaſt of Italy.

This was what Cæſar wiſhed for; for he had ſo well provided the maritime towns, that he no longer feared leſt Pompey ſhould attack them; for, having obſerved that the ſtrength of this general conſiſted in his naval forces, he had built a great number of ſtout ſhips, ſo that he could ſend to ſea more numerous fleets than his. Thus, far from any apprehenſion of war, he deſired it; but concealing his true ſentiments, he pretended to be in great pain for Italy; and having aſſembled the ſenate, he gave them to underſtand, that to aſſure the peace, it was neceſſary to diſappoint the new enterprizes of Pompey, and oblige him to execute his

[w] *Appian, Plutarch.*

treaty with him and Antony. The ſenate gave an anſwer, becaue they were conſulted, and juſt as it pleaſed Cæſar, the greateſt part however out of fear or complaiſance, rather than their real ſentiment; for they looked upon Pompey as their deliverer, and not as an uſurper of the public liberty.

In the mean time Cæſar, authoriſed by the ſenate, ſent to ask of Pompey the reaſons of ſuch a preparation, contrary to his agreement, and againſt which the ſenate had ſo many juſt exceptions; he charged the deputies alſo to complain of that licence which he gave the pirates of robbing on the Italian ſeas, to the prejudice of that agreement he had made, of keeping the ſea free from thoſe diſturbances. Pompey anſwered the deputies, that he did not believe the ſenate, who knew his intentions, would take any umbrage at his conduct; and in regard of Cæſar, he was no ways obliged to give him a particular account of his actions; that beſides, it was very unreaſonable to expect that he ſhould give chace to pirates; but that he had on his ſide more juſt demands to make, requiring they ſhould yield to him the government of Peloponneſus, as had been promiſed him.

The deputies being reurned, Cæſar, who had foreſeen Pompey's anſwer, prepared himſelf for war. His deſign was to paſs over into Sicily with ſo great forces, that he might eaſily oppreſs his enemy, and he forgot nothing which might make his enterprize ſucceed.

He

He immediately made ſhips to be fitted out in all the ports of Italy neighbouring to Sicily. He obliged Lepidus to go into Afric, and keep a powerful army ready both by ſea and land, to embark in the ports of that province on the firſt orders he ſhould ſend him. He wrote likewiſe to Antony, who was ſtill at Athens, deſiring him to join againſt the common enemy[x].

Lepidus went into Afric, where he aſſembled troops and ſhips, and Antony came to Brunduſium; but Cæſar not being upon the ſpot, he returned immediately, without waiting ſo much as a day. So that Cæſar coming there, found Antony gone. We know not what might be the reaſon of this precipitation. Antony excuſed himſelf afterwards, upon true or falſe prodigies, which he ſaid, had frightned him; but there is more probability it was his jealouſy of thoſe great preparations of war, which he ſaw ar Brunduſium, which were the true cauſe of his precipitated departure[y].

While theſe things were tranſacting, Menas provoked, becauſe Pompey would oblige him to give in his accounts as commiſſary of proviſions, which employment he had exerciſed a long time, offered Cæſar to give him up the iſlands of Corſica and Sardinia, of which Pompey had given him the government. Cæſar deferred accepting his offers,

[x] *Dion, Appian.* [y] *Appian.*

rather than he refuſed them; fearing ſuch an action might draw upon him the odium of the people and ſenate, at a time when the war was not yet declared betwixt him and Pompey. But this declaration ſoon following the return of the deputies, whom Pompey had diſmiſſed in the manner we have mentioned, Cæſar made his advantage of the treachery of Menas, who came to ſubmit himſelf to him at Tarentum. He left him indeed the command of that ſquadron which he brought with him; but he ſent a faithful governor into the iſlands of Corſica and Sardinia, ordering Menas to go and join Calvitius his admiral in the ports of Tuſcany, and as ſoon as he ſhould have done ſo, to come together to Rhegium, where was to be the rendezvous of their fleet.

Menas being come to Calvitius, and having ſhewed him Cæſar's orders, this admiral ſet ſail the day following. But Pompey, informed of what paſſed by his privateers, who cruiſed along the ſeas of Italy, ſent a powerful fleet to meet Calvitius, commanded by one Menecrates, who was likewiſe a freed man, and great enemy of Menas, whom he had ſucceeded as a favourite in his employments. The two naval armies being met at the height of Cumæ, they joined battle, and fortune would have the two freed ſlaves to be placed in oppoſite points. They knew one another immediately, and more animated by hatred than glory, being grappled together,

gether, they ſtained the ſeas with their blood. Menas was wounded in his arm, but he wounded more dangerouſly his enemy in the thigh, by an arrow that broke in the wound. Menecrates, ſeeing that he loſt all his blood, after having exhorted his men to fight valiantly, flung himſelf into the ſea, not to fall alive into the hands of a cruel enemy; an action more worthy of a Roman than a ſlave. Calvitius was not ſo happy as Menas; for Demochares, who was likewiſe a freed ſlave of Pompey, having obſerved that this admiral ſuffered himſelf to be carried away by his immoderate heat, without taking notice, that by purſuing ſome ſhips that fled before him, he left his right wing unguarded, fell upon it with ſo much vigor, that ſome betook themſelves to flight, and others ran aground, or againſt rocks, where Demochares ſent his galleys to burn them. Calviſius having perceived this diſorder, was obliged to return to the ſuccour of his fleet, which he had a great difficulty to rally. But Demochares thinking he had done enough, would not come to a ſecond attack; but, content with his victory entered the ports of Sicily. Pompey received him with joy, and aſſociated to him in the command of his naval forces a fourth freed ſlave named Apollophanes, to ſupply the place of Menecrates; thus filling up the principal charges with his creatures, rather than perſons of quality, becauſe he was either afraid of diminiſhing his authority by dividing

dividing it, or elſe let himſelf be governed by his freed ſlaves.

During this, Cæſar who waited for his admiral at Rhegium, having heard of the battle he had had with the lieutenants of Pompey, embarked on board his fleet to paſs the ſtreights, and make a deſcent at Meſſina. He ſent a ſhip to Calviſius to give him notice of this, with orders that he ſhould follow him as ſoon as he had refitted his veſſels. But no ſooner was he in that neck of the ſea, whoſe current is ſo well known by the names of Scylla and Charybdis, which have furniſhed the poets with an ample ſubject for their fictions, but he was attacked on one ſide by the veſſels of Pompey, which came out of Meſſina, and on the other by the fleet of Demochares, who was returning from the battle of Cumæ: ſo that he ſaw himſelf encloſed betwixt two fleets, without being able in theſe ſtreights either to fight, or run away. Beſides, his fleets were not capable of ſupporting the attack of two fleets, ſo powerful and experienced as thoſe of Pompey were; and he foreſaw his certain defeat, with his being taken or killed, if he hazarded a battle. There was only one reſolution to take, but it was ſcarce leſs dangerous; this was to run his ſhip aground, and throw himſelf into the ſea; a bold action, and without example. He notwithſtanding executed it happily, and gained the ſhore by ſwimming, retiring to the rocks, from whence he encouraged the men

men in his ſhip to imitate his reſolution, and ſhewed them the way. Yet he was not ſecure in this ſituation, and he ſaw his fleet inevitably loſt. But Calviſius and Menas appeared in a very lucky hour, and obliged the enemy to retire. They gathered together the wreck of the army, and being in great pain for Cæſar, they landed a legion to ſeek him. The ſoldiers having found him, brought him back to his fleet, the joy of which was greater, becauſe they began to fear he had ſuffered ſhipwreck.

This misfortune was followed by one ſtill greater than the firſt; for there was the following day ſo dreadful a tempeſt, that it had like to have deſtroyed the whole fleet. Menas who had a perfect knowledge in ſea affairs, got clear of the ſhore, and was followed by a part of the army. Others who were afraid of putting to ſea in the midſt of a ſtorm, believed imprudently, there was more ſafety in keeping in the road, and caſt anchor. Moſt of theſe periſhed, notwithſtanding the pains and care of the ſailors, who were forced to yield to the fury of the winds and ſea, breaking the cables which held the ſhips, and bulging them againſt the banks and rocks, of which this coaſt is full. The night came on, which encreaſed the tempeſt, and doubled by its pitchy darkneſs the conſternation of the army. Notwithſtanding, Cæſar did not loſe courage, and the day returning brought a calm, ſo that the veſſels which the ſtorm had

diſperſed,

dispersed, retired to Hippo to refit, the tempest having driven them upon the coast of Afric. But Cæsar with a squadron of six ships gained Campania to secure Rome and Italy, which he feared Pompey would come to ravage. In reality he had a fair occasion of doing so, if he would have profited by this disorder; but he saw from Messina, where he was, the wreck of Cæsar's ships, without daring to finish the defeat; and he did not so much as think of making a descent in Italy, where he would have found very little resistance. Cæsar, who saw clearly the errors of his enemy, neglected nothing to recover quickly from the two losses he had suffered. He sent Mecenas to Antony at Athens, dissembling his resentment for his not staying for him a day at Brundusium; and at the same time he sent orders to all the maritime towns in Italy, to build with all haste as many ships as was possible.

Whilst he was thus employed with all those cares, they came to tell him, that Antony had not waited for his embassy, but was come to Brundusium with three hundred ships. It was doubtful whether this was because he was become jealous of Pompey's power, and therefore interested himself in Cæsar's losses; or because he designed with so great forces to make himself master of these conquests, which their joint-army should make together, as Cæsar always suspected. Their interview was upon that river which runs between Metapontus

tapontus and Tarentum, where they met with few attendants, each being upon his gondola. After ſome diſpute, which only aroſe from civility, Cæſar would abſolutely go to Tarentum, where Antony had his apartment, out of impatience to ſee his ſiſter Octavia, who had followed her husband in this voyage. To teſtify his confidence in Antony, he accepted of his houſe, and would neither ſuffer guards nor centinels before his own lodging. They paſſed ſome days together in perfect good underſtanding, to which the dexterity of Octavia contributed not a little: they ſeparated ſo content with one another, that they renewed for five years the triumvirate which was going to expire[z]. For a greater ſecurity of the renewal of this alliance, the ſon of Antony, which he had by Fulvia, was betrothed to Julia, Cæſar's daughter; and as they were but two children, the marriage proceeded no further, and the differences which happened afterwards betwixt Cæſar and Antony gave them both far other thoughts. Antony, who had at heart a war with the Parthians, returned into Aſia, leaving Octavia with a daughter he had by that marriage, along with Cæſar; and Cæſar, who had entertained ſome umbrage at the power with which he came, was not ſorry for his departure. Antony left him one hundred and twenty of his beſt ſhips with all

[z] *Dion, Appian, Plutarch.*

their

their equipage, and Octavia added ten galleys and ſeveral tranſports. In return Cæſar made a preſent to Antony of a regiment conſiſting of two thouſand ſoldiers, and of another containing a thouſand to his ſiſter, to ſerve as their body guards.

This renewing of alliance with Antony made Cæſar loſe the perfidious Menas, an inveterate enemy of Antony, who, in a diſpute he had with him, threatened to reduce him to his firſt condition: a ſenſible injury to ſuch whom fortune has raiſed from nothing, whoſe pride cannot bear to hear of their original meanneſs. It was on this account that he departed the following day, without Calviſius's perceiving it, and returned into Sicily with his fleet to his firſt maſter. Calviſius, for not having watched over his actions, was diſgraced, and his charge of admiral was given to Agrippa[a].

This general was newly returned from Gaul with a fine army, and the ſuccour came very opportunely for Cæſar. At the ſame time, the cities of Italy ſent him more ſhips than he had asked of them; ſo that he ſaw himſelf in a condition of returning into Sicily, with a completer army, and more powerful fleet than the firſt. He pitched upon the tenth of July for his embarkation, which was that of the new moon[b] of this month, which was called Quintilis; but

[a] *Year of Rome* 717. [b] *Appian.*

Julius

Julius Cæſar had given it his name, and Octavius imagined it muſt be happy to him, and fatal to Pompey. He gave notice of the time of his departure to Lepidus, who was in Libya, and to Taurus one of his lieutenants, who had his ſquadron at Tarentum, to the end they might be ready at the ſame time. After this he repaired to his fleet at Puzzolo; but before he heaved anchor, he ordered ſolemn ſacrifices to be offered to Neptune, and purified his army. This purification was performed with great ceremony, ſeveral altars being built upon the ſhore, which they waſhed with ſalt water, in the preſence of the army drawn about them; keeping a profound ſilence. The prieſts went on board a barge, and ordered it to put off a league from the fleet, where they ſacrificed. Afterwards returning with a part of the ſacrifice which they held in their hands, they went and made their prayers on board every veſſel, being accompanied by the principal officers of the army, and ſupplicating the gods to make fall upon the victims all the misfortunes of the war. The ceremony being finiſhed, Cæſar immediately ſet ſail. The fleet was conducted by Agrippa[c], newly put into the office of admiral, having Appius for his lieutenant. Lepidus and Taurus departed at the ſame time from their ports, according to the orders they had received. Thus the army

[c] *Appian.*

being

being divided into three fleets, and the whole consisting of four hundred ships of war, besides twelve hundred transports who carried forty-five legions, and twenty-five thousand horse, he departed with a favourable wind, steering towards Sicily, which they besieged to attack by sea and land.

Pompey who had notice of all these preparations, had sent a fleet commanded by Pleminius towards the promontory of Lilibæum situated on that side of Sicily which looks towards Afric, to oppose the passage of Lepidus, who came from thence, and hinder his descent. He had fortified the ports and places where they might land, and had thrown troops into the islands called Liparæ, for fear Cæsar, coming from Italy, might make himself master of them. Fortune did still more for him than all his providence; for there arose a wind at south east so violent, as the army was in sight of Sicily, that it sunk several transports of Lepidus's fleet. This did not hinder him from making land, the wind pushing him whither he designed to go, so that he landed happily, and having debarked twelve legions, and five thousand horse, he seized on several places of little importance, and laid siege to Lilybæum where [b] Pleminius had shut himself up, not daring to oppose his descent.

[b] *Marsala.*

Cæsar

Cæſar was not ſo happy as Lepidus; for, he ſaw periſh a great part of the veſſels of that ſquadron which Appius commanded, near the promontory of Minerva. That ſquadron where he was, commanded by Agrippa, had not ſo much misfortune, and there was only one of his galleys that ſuffered ſhipwreck. Notwithſtanding, the admiral ran great hazards himſelf, and was forced to run his ſhip aground, where there was neither port for his veſſels, nor houſes to lodge in[e]. The tempeſt being over, Cæſar found that he had loſt ſix of his galleys, twenty-ſix frigates, and a great number of leſſer veſſels. There was no part of the fleet but that of Taurus which remained intire, and this lieutenant carried it back to Tarentum without ſuffering any damage. Cæſar made his ſhips enter into the ports of Afric, and others into the ports of Italy, according to the places where the tempeſt had driven them, in order to refit.

He viſited all the maritime places, to ſecure them againſt the enterpriſes of Pompey, who knew no more how to benefit by this ſecond ſhipwreck, than he had done by the firſt. He contented himſelf with looking from his iſland, where he remained unclofed, the wreck which Neptune, who took, as he ſaid, his part, had made of his enemies fleet, and only thought of rejoicing and thanking

[e] *Dion*, *Appian*.

this

this god, by libations and ſacrifices, which he ordered to be made every where. He aſſiſted himſelf with great ceremony, and putting off his purple robe, he took another of that colour which painters and poets clothe this god in, that he might be more agreeable to him. He had even the vanity to let himſelf be called his ſon. But by paſſing for the ſon of a god, he made himſelf unworthy of being the ſon of Pompey. He added to theſe vanities a very imprudent action, re-eſtabliſhing Menas in all his employments, without reflecting that this freed ſlave, who had betrayed him ſo villainouſly once, might eaſily betray him in as baſe a manner a ſecond time. In effect, he did not fail of doing ſo, ſuffering himſelf to be won by the promiſes of Cæſar, who ſolicited him to return to his party; and as if he had only waited for a conſiderable employment, to render his treaſon more important, he no ſooner ſaw himſelf ſettled in the charge of captain general of Pompey's naval forces, but he came and ſurrendered himſelf with a ſquadron of the beſt ſhips of the fleet.

Cæſar received him very favorably, but he removed him from his army, for fear he might corrupt it by his example, and did not truſt him afterwards with any command, neither in the army nor the provinces [f]. He had notwithſtanding ſo much gratitude for

[f] *Dion, Appian, Suetonius, Horace.*

the

the ſervices he had done him, that he not only honored him with the dignity of a Roman knight, but admitted him at his table: an honor which he did not ſhew to any other of the ſame condition; and which perſons of quality had a difficulty to ſuffer in a freed ſlave, for they hated his pride and treachery, and deſpiſed his extraction.

As ſoon as Cæſar had repaired the damage which the tempeſt had cauſed in his fleet [g], he ordered Taurus, who was at Tarentum, to come from the gulf of Squillaci, to approach Taormini; whilſt Agrippa was to ſail on another ſide to ſieze on the iſlands of Liparæ, and block up Meſſina [h]. Theſe orders were executed. Taurus came to the coaſt of Taormini, and diſembarked ſix legions, under the command of Meſſala, who entrenched himſelf and waited further orders from Cæſar. Agrippa ſeized on Liparæ, and appeared with his naval forces in the ſight of Meſſina. Cæſar, who was returned to Hippo, where the reſt of his fleet was, departed immediately, and came and joined Agrippa. After having conferred a day together, he re-embarked, leaving Agrippa the ſole command of the naval army, with a full power to undertake what he ſhould think proper; and ſet ſail towards the coaſt of Taormini, having a deſign to ſurpriſe that place. This was the means of oppreſſing Pompey, by ſurrounding

[g] *Year of Rome* 718. [h] *Dion, Appian.*

him

him on all ſides. Lepidus beſieged Lilybæum, which lies on the ſouth of Italy, Agrippa ſtationed himſelf betwixt the weſt and north with his naval forces, and Cæſar proceeded on the eaſtern coaſt. In the mean time Pompey thinking of defending himſelf, prepared to fight the naval forces commanded by Agrippa. He gave the charge of this expedition to Pappias, a man of valour and experience, aſſuring him, that he would com himſelf and ſupport him if he ſaw it neceſſary. But Pappias could not hinder Agrippa from making himſelf maſter of all the little iſland of Hiera, and he would have ſeen Agrippa extend his conqueſts farther without daring to oppoſe him, if he had not been reinforced by four-ſcore large ſhips which Pompey ſent. Thinking himſelf now ſtronger than Agrippa, he preſented him battle, and Agrippa truſting to the valour of his legions, accepted it with joy. The two armies approached with great reſolution, and fought with equal ardor on both ſides. The ſhips were furniſhed with caſtles upon their prows, from whence the ſoldiers under cover launched their darts, and were employed in boarding. Agrippa's ſhips being higher built, had a great advantage over thoſe of Pappias, the ſoldiers throwing their javelins from above with more ſtrength, and leſs hazard of miſſing. His machines likewiſe had a great effect, and ſeveral of Pappias's veſſels were either ſhattered, or ſunk to the bottom; but the

the light barges, which followed the fleet, received the men as soon as a ship opened, and the soldiers passing into another, returned couragiously to the charge. Thus the battle was continued betwixt the two armies with an equal advantage, till such time as Agrippa, who sought for Pappias, had joined him; and gave him a shock with such impetuosity, that he flung down the towers of his ship, and put it in a sinking condition. But Pappias saved himself; and, mounting another vessel, was preparing to return to the charge, when Pompey, who looked on, and saw the whole affair, sounded a retreat. Pappias lost thirty ships, and Agrippa only five; so that the scale of victory was intirely on the side of Cæsar, notwithstanding Pompey had the vanity to attribute it to himself, and order public rejoicings.

Cæsar, who waited the event of this battle to take his own resolution, having had the news of it in Messala's camp, where he then was, made his utmost haste to surprise Taormina, before Pompey could come to its succour; and, to conceal his march, he would not go by land, but went on board his ships with his troops; which he increased by three legions of Messala's army, not being able to take the other three for want of ships to embark them. Thus coasting along the shore, he landed happily in the sight of the walls of city, no one in the least opposing his descent.

But Pompey, who would not lose this place, having had notice of Cæsar's move-

ment, departed so secretly from Messina, that Agrippa, who had always his eye upon him, perceived nothing of it; and hasted with so much diligence to the succour of the besieged, that Cæsar, who thought he had concealed his design, was in turn surprised himself, and saw the enemy's cavalry approaching, before he had finished the inclosure of his camp. All that he could do, was to oppose a part of his army to Pompey's cavalry, whilst the others laboured at the circumvallation. There was notwithstanding no battle, because Pompey's infantry did not arrive till towards the evening. Cæsar upon this, seeing he was going to be besieged in his own intrenchments, by an army much superior to his, resolved to open himself a passage thro' the enemy's fleet, and go and bring the three legions that remained under the command of Messala. He therefore departed with a few troops, leaving Cornificius the care of the camp; and assured him, that he would return to his succour with forces capable of delivering him, and beating Pompey.

The resolution which Cæsar took was so dangerous, that he would have no colours on the ship in which he was[i], quitting likewise all the ensigns of his dignity, for fear he should be known, and surrounded by his enemies. He went notwithstanding on board his ships, exhorting his officers and soldiers to shew their valour and fidelity. Then placing himself in the centre of his army, he steered with full sail upon the other fleet,

[i] *Appian.*

which

which had formed itself into a crescent to enclose him. The battle was bloody, and so obstinate notwithstanding the inequality of the two fleets, valour and desperation supplying inequality of number, that two several times both armies drew off, and as often returned to the charge, nothing but night being capable of parting them. It was yet impossible for Cæsar to force the enemy, and he saw sunk or shattered a great part of his vessels, without being able to succour them; so that there was no appearance of his fleet's being able to bear the following day another attack. Therefore perceiving no other resource, he flung himself into a small barge with a design of saving himself by night; and whilst he was in great pain about the success of his resolution, there arose a fresh wind by the favour of which he was happily carried into a little harbour near the camp of Messala, having only one of his guards with him. What remained of his fleet set sail at break of day, but the greatest part were taken, and very few escaped, or could gain the camp of Conificius.

Cæsar was so oppressed with lassitude, that he fell asleep in his barge, and did not wake till he heard the noise of Messala's soldiers, who were come down from the mountains to walk upon the shore. They were greatly astonished to find their general in this equipage; and to see, that he who covered both sea and land with his fleets and legions, had only a wretched bark to fly in, and one soldier for company. They conducted him to

the camp of Messala; from whence he gave his orders to hasten the succours he had promised Cornificius.

It had not been a long time since Messala came into Cæsar's interest. He had been put in the number of the proscribed at the beginning of the triumvirate; and, having retired to Brutus and Cassius, he followed their fortunes to their catastrophe. After this he joined himself to Antony; but not being able to bear the levities and vanity of Cleopatra, he devoted himself to Cæsar [k]: And he shewed clearly, upon this occasion, that his reconciliation was sincere; for if he had had any resentment for his proscription, he might then have revenged himself, having the life of Cæsar in his hands. But he was generous and faithful; and Cæsar remembered it afterwards, loading him with honours, munificences, and riches.

In the mean time, Cornificius not receiving the succours that had been promised him [l]; and not being able, for want of provision, to continue any longer in his camp, ordered his intrenchments to be thrown down; and presented Pompey battle. But this general, who saw clearly this was nothing but an action of despair, refused it, having a mind to have his army at discretion, without the loss of blood. This made Cornificius resolve on putting himself in march, notwithstanding the difficulties he foresaw he had to

[k] *Appian, Plutarch.* [l] *Dion, Appian.*

go

go through. He executed this resolution with a great deal of bravery and success, though he had to struggle not only with the enemy, who molested his rear, but likewise with the inconveniencies of the road, that was covered with ashes and hot cinders from mount Etna. But marching always in order of battle, he got the fourth day to an eminence, where he intrenched himself, resolved to wait for those succours which he knew to be not far off. In effect, they appeared the same day, and obliged the enemy to retire.

This was the conclusion of the expedition of Taormina, where Cæsar ran more danger than he had imagined. In this affair we may perceive three remarkable things; the diligence of Pompey, which deceived the vigilance of Agrippa, and surprised Cæsar; Cæsar's resolution of saving himself, by passing through the enemy's fleet; the great capacity and courage of Cornificius, who could decamp, in presence of an army much more powerful than his own, and who had horse, which he wanted; and notwithstanding making so happy a retreat, that he lost not a man, though the enemy had pursued him for four days.

Cornificius, reinforced with this succour that had been sent him, went and laid siege to Milazzo, which surrendered the following day. Agrippa at the same time took Tindaris; and Cæsar possessed himself of two little towns, famous in poetic fable for the

horſes of the ſun, which they ſay the companions of Ulyſſes ſlew in the adjacent fields.

Pompey, alarmed by all theſe conqueſts, reſolved to make his laſt efforts to drive Cæſar out of Sicily. He therefore ordered Tiſienus, his lieutenant-general, to get together what troops he had in the gariſons, and bring them to him, having a mind to compoſe a body of ſoldiers powerful enough to beat his enemies wereſoever he ſhould find them. Cæſar having notice of this, had a mind to intercept Tiſienus in his march, and ſurpriſe him before he had joined Pompey. But for want of good guides, he loſt his way, and paſſed a very bad night; for rains fell in abundance, as it commonly happens in this country about the end of ſummer: and the army being in the open fields, had neither tents or covers, becauſe Cæſar had forbidden them to burden themſelves with any baggage in this expedition; they therefore had nothing but their arms, which were not uſeleſs to them, having made of their bucklers, after the Gauliſh faſhion, a kind of tiling againſt the ſtorm. But rain was not the only inconveniency they had to ſuffer; the lightnings, which ſet the heavens on a blaze, and thoſe loud claps of thunder, which rattled the whole night, joined with the flames and roarings of mount Etna, frightened the ſoldiers, and hindered them from taking any repoſe. The day approaching diſſipated the ſtorm,

ſtorm, and brought back fine weather. Thus the army recovering courage, purſued its march, and Cæſar having failed of ſurpriſing Tiſienus, went to lay ſiege to Meſſina.

Pompey, who ſaw clearly that loſing this capital he ſhould loſe all Sicily [m], that he might make Cæſar raiſe the ſiege, propoſed to Cæſar the deciſion of all their differences by the lot of one battle, which he offered him at ſea. Cæſar willingly accepted the battle; but he would have rather choſen it had been given in open field, becauſe till then the ſea had not been favourable to him. Yet he yielded to the counſel of Agrippa, with whom he would confer, and who aſſured him of ſucceſs. He therefore repaired to his fleet [n], which he exerciſed ſeveral days by ſkirmiſhes betwixt the two armies, as if he had deſigned by theſe preludes to have a fore knowledge of what he ought to fear or hope for in the battle. After he had once tried by this eſſay the method of his enemy in fighting, and had ſettled the courage of his ſoldiers, who always gained the advantage over thoſe of Pompey, he agreed with this general, not only about the day of battle, but even about the number of ſhips; and they determined betwixt them, each fleet ſhould be compoſed of four hundred men of war, beſides thoſe that carried the machines. The two armies being drawn up in battle-

[m] *Appian.* [n] *Dion, Appian, Suetonius.*

array, the combat began early in the morning, and lasted till night, without its being possible to be observed during a great part of the day which side had the advantage. Pompey commanded the right wing of the army, and Tisienus the left. Cæsar having a mind to fight against Pompey himself, had taken the left side of his men, and gave the right to Agrippa. Each wing was composed of several squadrons, which kept their order a sufficient time. But the battle being once grown hot, they mixed in such a manner, that one could not distinguish the one from the other, so that several vessels of Pompey's passed into Cæsar's army, where they thought to secure themselves from those that were in pursuit of them; and others, of Cæsar's, saved themselves in Pompey's army, thinking that they fled to their own. For the ships being built in the same manner, and there being no difference in the arms, the clothes or shouts of the soldiers, when confusion had once blended the two fleets, they had a great difficulty to distinguish one another.

In the mean time the two generals forgot nothing that might contribute to gain the victory, and joined to their courage the succours of machines and artificial fires, of which they had provision enough. They carried those fires in barges which followed the ships of war, and when they came to boarding, they made a discharge of those fires and machines, which either burnt or sunk to the bottom

bottom moſt part of thoſe they attacked. But nothing had more effect than a machine of which Agrippa was the inventor, which bears at this day the name which he gave it, that of the harping-iron, upon account of the uſe that he made of it. This was a large piece of wood covered with plates of braſs, about five cubits long, having at one end hooks or barbs of iron, to catch hold of thoſe ſhips upon which it was thrown; and rings at the other end, where they tied ſtrong cords, with which they drew to them the ſhips they catched hold of, by the ſtrength of their arms and pullies. This invention would not be in our days of any great uſe, but the manner of fighting in thoſe days made it ſucceed. We muſt add to this, that it had never been practiſed before, and whatever is new does not fail of ſurpriſing upon that account, and conſequently of cauſing trouble and diſorder, till we are once accuſtomed to it.

The diſorder began in Pompey's army by that ſquadron in which he fought himſelf *, which Cæſar had the good fortune to put to flight; and this ſucceſs which was immediately perceived by the two fleets, cauſed the defeat of the one, and victory of the other. Agrippa, having obſerved it one of the firſt, took occaſion to exhort his ſoldiers to redouble their valour, and fell upon Tiſienus's

* *Dion, Appian, Suetonius.*

squadron with so much impetuosity that this lieutenant was forced to give way, and make off to open sea. But seeing Pompey decline the battle, and enter the port, he thought all was lost, and surrender'd himself to Cæsar [p]. The victorious army was so agreeably surprised at this event, that they could not contain their joy; and, not content with raising peals of acclamations, they thundered out hymns in praise of those gods, whom they supposed to have given them the victory.

Cæsar lost but three ships in this great battle; but all those of Pompey were either burnt, sunk or taken, excepting seventeen that saved themselves at Messina [q]. Apollophanes, lieutenant and freed-man of Pompey, submitted himself to the conqueror. But Demochares, who was of the same condition, and had the same office, shewed more fidelity and courage, voluntarily causing his own death, rather than survive the loss of so great a battle.

Pompey, having entered Messina, did not think himself in security there; but, taking all that he could of his most precious moveables, he embarked in the night with his friends and relations, and one daughter, whom he had in the vessels, which he brought off from the battle, and on which he could not put above six thousand men, without

[p] *Appian.* [q] *Dion.*

knowing

knowing whither he went, or chusing to stay for Pleminius, who was coming from Lilybæum with his troops, according to the composition made with Lepidus, and who entered into Messina the same time that Pompey went out.

Cæsar, seeing the victory certain, sent Agrippa with his fleet to shut up the port of Messina, and hinder Pompey from going thence, not knowing he was already gone [r]. Lepidus arrived at the same time with his army, which he brought from Lilybæum, summoning those of Messina to open him the gates. Agrippa, ordering himself to be put on shore, went and represented to him, that Cæsar would soon be there in person; and that he was to wait till he was arrived, before he entered the place, and not take from him the honour of the conquest. Agrippa always practised this advice he gave him; this wise captain was wont to say, that it was necessary, the lieutenants, contenting themselves with the glory which they found in danger, should leave to the general that of the success. But Lepidus, who had other designs, and who looked upon himself besides as a general of the same authority with Cæsar, would not defer a moment, but threatened to burn the city, if they did not bring him the keys; so that the inhabitants, being thus intimidated, let him enter with his best

[r] *Dion, Appian.*

troops. After he had distributed them into quarters, he came to the others in the camp, and declared to them, that he had no less contributed than Cæsar to the conquest of Sicily; and besides he designed to maintain himself in Messina, and even the whole island, till such time as Cæsar and Antony reinstated him in the triumvirate, from which they had unjustly excluded him to receive Pompey, and had made him an ample requital for those provinces they had seized upon after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius without communicating with him. It was said he had had correspondence with Pompey, and that he had drawn near Messina, only with design to execute the treaty they had concluded upon, not knowing that Pompey was departed: so that without the happy success of this naval battle Cæsar would have run a great danger of perishing betwixt the armies of those two generals.

Whatever was the truth, Cæsar, having been informed of Lepidus's action, would be set on shore, and march towards his camp, not in the design of fighting, having only with him a small number of officers, but hoping to reduce Lepidus to his duty, or withdraw the legions from his interest.

Lepidus, seeing him coming, hasted up with his horse, and made his legions advance, believing that Cæsar would advance his own[s]. The cavalry made their discharge upon

[s] *Dion, Appian, Suetonius.*

upon the ſmall company of Cæſar, who was wounded himſelf in the thigh, the legions having ſurrounded him; but, without being terrified, either by the wound, or the danger, he flung himſelf upon the ſtandard-bearer, which he forced out of his hands. This intrepidity cauſed ſo much reſpect and admiration in the ſoldiers, that they lowered their ſpears, and proclaimed him emperor[t]. Lepidus in vain made his remonſtrances to them: he ſaw himſelf abandoned in a moment by his army, which paſſed over to the ſide of Cæſar; and he was forced to come himſelf, after having quitted his purple robe, and put on a black one, begging mercy of Cæſar as a common criminal. The indignity of his action did not hinder Cæſar's clemency: he pardoned him, and permitted him to return to Rome, and exerciſe the office of grand pontiff, which could not be taken from him without taking his life; forbidding him only, to meddle for the time to come with the government of the city, which he deprived him of, as well as that of Afric. Thus fortune being favourable to Cæſar, turned to his advantage the moſt dangerous enterprizes of his enemies, and furniſhed him with ſpecious pretences of humbling them, and poſſeſſing himſelf of abſolute power.

Theſe happy ſucceſſes were followed by the mutiny of the legions[u]. So many victories

[t] *Imperator.* [u] *Dion, Appian.*

ries gained by them ſince they had fought under Cæſar's ſtandard, made them inſolent; and, attributing to themſelves all the glory, they believed that they could not be recompenſed worthily, and beſides that the neceſſity Cæſar had of them was ſuch, if he deſigned to overcome his enemies, that it put them in a condition of exacting from him greater advantages than the other ſoldiers. They demanded therefore their diſmiſſion, or, if that was not granted them, an augmentation of pay, and to have ſecurity given them of a conſiderable munificence, as ſoon as the time of their ſervice was completed. Cæſar ſaw the danger of diſcontenting his troops; but he ſtill believed, that there was a far greater, and leſs honourable in flattering them. Thus, deſigning to do neither one, nor the other, he ſaid, that he gave his free diſmiſſion to thoſe who had been at the battle of Modena, and had always ſerved him ſince; upon which all the others crying out, that they asked the ſame diſmiſſion, I will grant that too, ſaid he, but with this condition, that not one of you hereafter ſhall ſerve in my armies. This anſwer, which they did not expect, ſurpriſed them; and Cæſar continued to ſpeak to them with ſo much authority, that he made them return to their obedience, and do all in their power to appeaſe him. He contented himſelf with their repentance, and ordered to be diſtributed to

them

them five hundred drachmas a head[x]. But he made more considerable presents to such who had distinguished themselves by their loyalty[y], giving to some of them horses with golden harness, to others collars and chains of gold, and honoring such as had signalized themselves in the naval fight with crowns and chaplets of gilded olive. He promoted some to the dignity of senators in their respective cities, and made them be received as such. He recompensed the services of Agrippa by marks of honor which distinguished him from all others, making him a present of a naval crown of gold, which he had a right of wearing on all days of triumph, appearing with a crown of gold upon his head, when he who triumphed wore but one of laurel. He honored him likewise with a blue flag, which he hoisted every time he went to sea; as if he had designed to equal him with Neptune, whose ensign he bore.

Whilst Cæsar was distributing to his soldiers and officers those recompences which he thought due to their valour, the senate upon the news that was brought them of what passed in Sicily, decreed Cæsar the honor of a triumph; but he contented himself with an ovation, which was of an inferior nature; moderating thus the grief the peo-

[x] *A Drachma was about equal to* 7 *d.* ¾ *sterling.*
[y] *Dion, Appian, Suetonius.*

ple

ple had for the defeat of Pompey, and rendering his triumph more agreeable to those, to whom his victory was displeasing.

After that he had re-established tranquillity in Sicily, he returned to Rome[z], which he entered on horseback according to the custom of those to whom the senate had decreed an ovation, and was received with an extraordinary joy. For his having refused a triumph the senate decreed him honors, more magnificent than a triumph itself. For they erected to him a statue of gold, and a triumphal arch in the Roman forum; and order'd further, that to solemnize the day of his victory, there should be yearly two tables prepared in the capitol or Jupiter's temple, where he should eat in state with his family. There were some cities in Italy, who appointed him divine honors. This was pushing flattery too far; but it is true, one cannot too much praise the action which he did in entering Rome. For some turbulent people having presented him with a list of several illustrious persons, whom they accused of having conspired against him, or maintained a correspondence with the enemy, he not only refused to read it, but he would have it thrown, with all the papers relating to that accusation, into a fire which he ordered to be lighted, while the universal people applaud-

[z] *Year of Rome* 719.

ed,

ed, with shouts and peals of praise, so magnanimous and generous an action.

During this, Pompey, full of the melancholy ideas of his defeat and calamity, fled away with full sail, without knowing whither he went: his first design had been to retire towards Antony, and renew in him his antient hatred and jealousy against Cæsar. But having landed at Mitylene, he understood that Antony had been beat by the Parthians. This news made him change his resolution, and he thought, that if he passed into the east where his father had almost been adored, he might rekindle the affections of those people, which were not quite extinguished, and, with those succours they would give him, might revive again his dead hopes.

He therefore sent deputies to the kings of Thrace and Pontus, to make an alliance with them, and ask a passage over their lands: but, not to fail on the side of Antony, in case his affairs were not in so bad a condition as they said, he sent him deputies likewise, to acquaint him with his coming, and nogotiate a treaty with him against Cæsar. But his policy did not succeed, and Antony, being advertised of his intentions, sent to meet him one of his lieutenants with a part of his army, who, under the pretence of paying him honor, was to bring him whether he would or no. But Pompey advanced still in Asia, and, having understood that his

his intentions were found out, he resolved to open himself a passage, sword in hand. He was at first happy enough in defeating the army of Antony commanded by Furnius, and seize afterwards on the city of Lampsacus. This victory opened to him the Troades and Propontis; and, pushing his victories further, he made himself master of Nicea and Nicomedia. But Furnius having received a reinforcement, which Titius brought him, Pompey had not forces capable of standing against him, and so was forced to fly by retiring towards Bithynia with a design of gaining Armenia, after having seen himself uncomfortably abandoned by all the persons of quality in his army, his father-in-law Libonius himself deserting him in his distrest condition. Yet he lost not courage; but, having surprised Furnius, who kept but a negligent watch in his camp, he charged him with so much vigor, that tho' he had but three thousand men with him, he caused a panic over all the enemy's army, cut in pieces all he met with, and, passing across the camp, continued on his march.

But, not knowing how to profit by this advantage and complete his victory, he was defeated at length himself. For Furnius, having composed the disorder of his army, which consisted of more than fifteen thousand men, pursued and overtook him, just as he endeavoured to gain the sea shore, where he saw

saw in the port several vessels that Amyntas commanded, one of Antony's lieutenants. The design of Pompey was to make himself master of these vessels, by setting fire to some of them, and, whilst the enemy should be employed in extinguishing, it to embark with his troops on board the other. But Amyntas prevented and met him, and Titius, arriving at the same time, fell upon his rear, which soon dissipated his little army. Pompey fighting valiantly, was made prisoner and carried to Miletum, or, as Plutarch says, to Samos, where by the orders of Antony he had his head struck off.

This last event was rather owing to the bad fortune of Pompey, than the cruelty of Antony. For the latter having writ to Titius to put his prisoner to death, repented himself a moment after the messenger was gone, and sent a second courier with second orders. But the misfortune of Pompey would so have it, that the first courier made his journey with more diligence than the latter. So that he who brought the order of putting Pompey to death coming first, Titius, being thus deceived, or pretending to be so, beheaded Pompey according to the order he received, as if this had been the last resolution of Antony.

'Tis thus that fortune defeated Cæsar's enemies, and rid him of them without his being stained with their blood; Pompey's

blood

blood being spilt by those hands which were to be lifted up against Cæsar.

Such was the tragical end of Pompey, at the age of forty, the worthy son of his father for his courage, and who too nearly resembled him in his melancholy end. The name of Pompey perished with him, but not the love the Romans bore to that illustrious family, which nothing was ever capable of blotting from their minds.

They gave a sensible mark of this sometime after the death of Sextus. For Titius being returned to Rome, and exhibiting certain games to render himself more agreeable to the people, all the people with indignation rose up as soon as he appeared, not being able to bear the sight of this murderer, and drove him out of the theatre. And Cæsar, after he saw himself master of the republic, did by nothing more establish his power, than by raising again the statues of Pompey, which had been thrown down by the fury of civil wars, and during the triumvirate.

This affection of the Roman people for the name of Pompey, even after his family was extinguished, shews of what importance the victory was, that Cæsar had gained in Sicily. Both Antony and Lepidus had an interest in opposing this conquest, which rendered Cæsar too powerful; but he found means of removing the first, whose concurrence he was apprehensive of, and obliged

Lepidus

Lepidus to follow him, making use of his troops to oppress Pompey, and complete his own ruin. In the mean time, before he gained this point, to what extremities was he not often reduced? Fulvia, Antony's wife, had stirred up a cruel war against him in Italy, and Antony joined himself towards the end of it with Pompey; afterwards Pompey desolated Italy with his fleets, and distressed Rome so as to make it rise in insurrection, and threatened to assassine Cæsar, the populace tearing in pieces several of his soldiers. It was necessary for him to be as politic as he was, to surmount these great difficulties; and his enemies must certainly have had less of prudence than valour. In effect, he was so wary in all he undertook, that no one could penetrate his real designs; and, seeing clearly himself into those of others, he broke and disappointed all their measures. Policy mixt itself with his very domestic actions, having share in his amours and marriages. On the contrary, Antony sought nothing but pleasure in his amours, so far was he from making his love subservient to his ambition: by this means he neglected more and more the true interest of his glory, thinking of nothing but of satisfying his weakness and love. Thus, while he languished in the court of Egypt, infatuated with the charms of Cleopatra, Cæsar advanced his affairs in Europe, and applied himself

himself to his own politic views, which he left no engine unprepared to succeed in.

He ruined the designs of Fulvia, and the consul Lucius Antonius, by making them suspected by the senate, tho' the consul intended nothing but the public welfare. Antony and Pompey after this being leagued against him, he won Lepidus over to his party by yielding to him that share he had in the government of Afric; but he soon after took it again into his own hands. He also regained Antony, whom he withdrew from Pompey's friendship, by the persuasion of those deputies which he always kept near him; and by the marriage of Octavia his sister, whom he got him to espouse, he did not design so much to acquire his friendship, as lay a snare for him. And he married Scribonia out of pure policy to gain over Libonius, and obtain by his mediation a treaty which put him in a condition of overcoming Pompey in Sicily, when Pompey had more than half overcome him in Italy.

He would, notwithstanding all this, have found great difficulty to succeed, if this general had known how to make his advantage of those shipwrecks which destroyed Cæsar's fleet, and left all the ports of Italy open for him. But, having neglected the grand opportunity of conquering his enemy without a battle, he fought afterwards to no purpose, fortune having turned her back on him, and his courage afterwards could never repair the faults

faults of his imprudence. It was in vain that he was a general of the most approved courage and fixed honour of his age, his valour as well as experience in war being of no more advantage to him, than his probity and sincerity in society; and those virtues not being supported by prudence, the policy of Cæsar triumphed over all.

As for Lepidus, he had more weakness than ambition; and, having neither great vices nor virtues, he was the sport of the three others, who dispossessed and re-established him at pleasure; till such time as having a mind to shew a resentment out of season, and against honor, for those injustices which he thought done him, he gave Cæsar an opportunity of depriving him of that part which they had left him in the government.

Thus Cæsar reaping equal advantages from his enemies faults, as from his own great virtues, he paved himself a way to supreme power, by his happy expedition into Sicily; and, having now no competitor but Antony, he conquered him with more glory than danger, as we are going to see in the second part of this history.

End of the First Part.

THE LIFE OF AUGUSTUS.

PART II.

BOOK I.

WHILST Cæsar gained such glorious victories over Pompey, Antony entered upon an unjust and unhappy war against the Partians[a]. For having made an incursion into their country, with sword in hand, to the prejudice of an alliance which had been concluded betwixt them, and out of a mere motive of ambition, he had in his enterprize a success altogether worthy of his temerity. But we must take things a little higher.

The Parthians had always been enemies of the Roman people, and jealous of that glory

[a] *Dion, Appian, Plutarch, Florus.*

glory which they saw them obtain by the victories of Lucullus and Pompey over Mithridates, and therefore suffered with impatience those conquests which extended as far as their frontiers. They, notwithstanding, remained quiet, kept religiously that alliance which had been concluded by the Roman generals, and ratified by the senate: but Crassus, to whom by the triumvirship betwixt him, Julius Cæsar and Pompey, the government of Syria had been given, undertook to make a war with them, against the prohibitions of the Tribunes, one of whom [b], devoted him solemnly with dreadful execrations, customary to the Romans on such occasions.

Crassus, without being touched with such superstition, departed from Rome, entered into Asia, and passed the Tigris with a fine army; but it perished miserably by the ambuscades of the enemy, and imprudence of the general, who perished himself, after having shamefully delivered himself up into the hands of Surena, refugee and lieutenant of king Orodes. This success so far puffed up these Barbarians, that they undertook to make inroads into provinces allied with the Roman people: and it was to put a stop to them that Julius Cæsar had resolved on that expedition, in which he designed to be general himself, having already ordered a num-

[b] *Ateius.*

ber of troops to march that way, when his tragical death put an end to that great enterprize. Caſſius ſtill increaſed the pride of the Parthians, by ſeeking for their alliance after the death of Julius Cæſar, inſtead of reſenting the unworthy treatment they had given to Craſſus and the Roman army, wherein he had part himſelf, ſerving under the command of that general. But, forgetting theſe injuries to think of his own intereſt, he ſent Labienus to Orodes to draw him over to the faction of the conſpirators. The treaty was concluded, and the Parthians promiſed as many troops as were asked of them. Labienus, ſtrengthened with this foreign power, performed ſeveral conſiderable exploits, often beat Antony's armies, ruined thoſe cities which he had ordered to be built on the frontiers; and having reduced one of his generals to the miſerable reſolution of killing himſelf with his own hand, for fear of falling into the power of the enemy, he took from him all Syria. But the Parthians remained maſters of the conquered countries, and under pretence of lending their power to a Roman general, they made uſe of his conduct to aggrandize themſelves.

The death of Caſſius, who fell at the battle of Philippi, was not capable of ſtopping the progreſs of Labienus and the Parthians. Antony ſent Ventidius, who defeated them in the firſt battle, and who gained ſtill a more bloody one over Pacorus who commanded the

the army of Orodes his father, betwixt the Orontes and Euphrates, where this young prince was ſlain with above twenty thouſand of his men. After this victory, all thoſe places that had been taken from the Romans, returned under their dominions, and on the ſide of Antony; but the jealouſy he had of this lieutenant, obliged him to recall him, having a mind as he ſaid to put himſelf at the head of his army, and conquer the kingdom of the Parthians.

He did not yet undertake this expedition[c], till after he had made peace with Phraates, who not content with aſcending the throne by the murder of all his brothers, had finally obtained it by parricide, putting to death his own father. Antony did in this an action unworthy a Roman general, by making alliance with a barbarian all ſtained with the blood of his family: but he committed one ſtill more odious by violating this alliance, without the enemy's giving him the leaſt pretence, and only out of a fooliſh vanity of joining to the glory of his other actions the proud title of conqueror of the Araxes and Euphrates.

He therefore entered upon the ſtates of Phraates[d], who relied upon the ſincerity of the new treaty; but Antony made a boaſt of his perfidy and falſhood. A proceeding very different from that of the ancient Ro-

[c] *Appian, Florus.* [d] *Year of Rome* 719.

mans, who believed all ſurprize of their enemy unworthy of them, and never made war unleſs they thought it lawful, and had proclaimed it before with great ſolemnity.

He therefore departed from Alexandria, at the head of one hundred thouſand men, accompanied by ſeveral princes, and allied or tributary kings who eſteemed it an honor to march under his orders. One of the moſt powerful was Artabazus, king of Armenia, who joined to Antony's army ſeven thouſand foot, and ſixteen thouſand horſe.

The ſeaſon [c] was already far advanced, when Antony took the field, not being able to leave Cleopatra but with an extreme violence to himſelf; and yet he continued ſtill in Arabia for ſome time, through which he would paſs, and did not arrive in Armenia but towards the end of ſummer. He would have done well to have paſſed the winter there, and waited ſpring before he entered into Media; but his impatience of returning to Alexandria did not ſuffer him to ſtop, or refreſh his army, which had need of reſt, after a march of more than four hundred leagues. He therefore entered into Atropatene, and laid ſiege to Praaſpa, capital of the province. This was a ſtrong place, and he wanted engines to conquer it; having been obliged to leave his chief battering ram, which was fourſcore foot long, becauſe the

[c] *Dion, Appian, Plutarch.*

heavy

heavy carriages had not been able to follow him in his precipitated march. Besides this, the enemy's coming to the succour of the place with a powerful army, he was forced shamefully to raise the siege. Artabazus, who thought all was lost, returned with his troops into Armenia; and Antony, to hide his flight, and save his honor, endeavoured to enter into a kind of treaty with Phraates, asking of him the restitution of the Roman eagles, which had been taken in the defeat of Crassus; but the Parthian king made a jest of him, and only answered his deputies, that their general was not in a condition of exacting terms, but must content himself with such as were granted him; and, without asking any thing further of the Parthians, receive as a favour the permission of retiring, assuring him he would not be so uncivil as to disturb him in his retreat.

Antony would have been too fortunate, if Phraates had kept his word; but what credit can be given to a murderer of all his nearest relations? Add to this, that the barbarian thought he might, by the very example of Antony himself, make a jest of all promises. It is thus, that he who is deficient in sincerity, will always meet with a retaliation.

The suspicion Antony had of this happening, obliged him to take guides to conduct him thorough covert and by ways; but the enemy, who had notice of it, let him go

without any obſtacle, till he came upon the frontiers of Armenia. It was here, that Antony obſerving that the banks of a river were broken down in his paſſage, began to ſuſpect ſome fineſs; and at the ſame time the Parthians came pouring with great ſhouts upon the Roman legions, who had a great deal of difficulty and need of all their courage to ſupport the onſet. We muſt be ſo far juſt, as to own, that Antony by his courage, and the good orders he gave during the battle, and his retreat afterwards, contributed much to the ſafety of the army, of which he ſaved a conſiderable part, tho' he could not ſave the whole.

The legions having given way in one of their skirmiſhes, Antony would call the principals to account after the battle, and having drawn them up under their ſeveral ſtandards he aſcended the tribunal: but the ſoldiers no ſooner ſaw him appear, but without waiting his oration they cried out they were blameable, and required that he ſhould execute them by decimation. Antony was ſo moved with their ſubmiſſion, that inſtead of reproaching them, he loudly prayed to the gods they would vouchſafe to ſave his army, by letting fall upon him all the miſfortunes deſerved by entering upon ſo unjuſt a war [f].

[f] *Plutarch.*

The

The ſoldiers, after this, happily made uſe of a ſtratagem in the laſt attack of the enemy [g], which ſeemed to have been inſpired into them, and aſtoniſhed in ſuch a degree the Parthians that they ceaſed their purſuit. For theſe Barbarians pouring upon the legions with their ſuperior numbers, and thinking to cut them in pieces, made a furious diſcharge of their arrows. The Roman army immediately bending their knees to the ground, and covering themſelves with their bucklers, raiſed one above another in form of an amphitheatre, received the arrows of the enemy, that only glanced upon this artful covering. Upon this the Parthians, who ſaw them all bent towards the ground, doubted not they were ſo many dead men: but ſeeing them riſe up inſtantly, and preſent their ſpears, they knew not what to think of ſuch an adventure: and imagining there was ſomething truly divine in ſuch a ſurprize, they ceaſed to purſue them any further, and ſpoke to them in theſe words: "Proceed, "ye Romans, hereafter, where-ever you "pleaſe; for, ſince you have been able to "reſiſt the power of Parthia, you will be "invincible."

But, after having eſcaped the ſubtilty and fury of the Barbarians, they had like to have periſhed by the ſterility of the country and want of water [h]. They were five days in

[g] *Appian, Florus.* [h] *Florus, Dion, Appian.*

this diſtreſs, and did not arrive at their ſuccour till the ſixth upon the banks of Araxes, when the ſoldiers did not think they could quench their thirſt. But they found death where they ſought for life; for the greateſt part of them being over-heated, and drinking largely of thoſe cold and rapid waters, had all their limbs benumbed; and not being able to contain themſelves in a fruitful country, where they found great plenty after a long famine, they became hydropical, and died after a tedious languor. So that Antony, making a review of all his troops, found that he had loſt above four and twenty thouſand men; the greateſt part of which had periſhed by the laſt accident.

This was the fruit of an expedition, as unfortunate as unjuſt [1]. But Antony, vain even in his defeat, having a mind to cover his ſhame, and appear to the eyes of Cleopatra as a conqueror, tho' in reality he was ſhamefully defeated, revenged himſelf of his misfortunes upon the defenceleſs king of Armenia: and, under pretence of his having deſerted the army, he loaded him with chains, tho' he was come to receive him honourably to his borders, and had accompanied him into Media with an army of five and twenty thouſand men. Thus he brought him bound in triumph to Alexandria, and preſented him to Cleopatra, who pleaſed her

[1] *Dion, Appian, Florus, Plutarch.*

womaniſh

womaniſh pride in ſeeing a king captive at her feet.

Antony became enamoured of this queen at an interview, the particulars of which deſerve minutely to be related. Having paſſed into Aſia, after the battle with Brutus and Caſſius, they told him that the governors of Phenicia, who were under the influence of Egypt, had ſent ſuccours to Caſſius againſt Dolobella: upon this he cited Cleopatra to appear before him, to anſwer for the actions of her governors, and ſent one of his lieutenants to oblige her to meet him in Cilicia, where he deſigned to hold a general aſſembly of the ſtates of that province. But Cleopatra, well knowing the power of her charms, made light account of Antony's decree; and tho' his lieutenant preſs'd her departure, ſhe delayed her beginning the journey; and juſtly, becauſe her innocency in that reſpect gave her ſecurity: for ſhe had been ſo far from approving the procedure of her delegates, that ſhe had actually ſent ſuccours to Dolobella, and openly favoured the party of the Cæſarians.

She at laſt began her journey, and embarking at Alexandria, paſſed to Cyprus; thence ſhe croſſed the ſea, and entering the river Cydnus, went up it to land at Tarſus the capital of Cilicia.

There never was ſeen a more magnificent and ſplendid equipage than hers. The poup of her veſſel glittered with the richeſt co-

lours, intermixed with gold; the ſails were of purple, and all the oars adorned with ſilver. A rich pavillion of gold-tiſſue was raiſed on the deck, where the queen appeared dreſſed like Venus, with all the moſt beautiful of her ladies about her, ſome of whom repreſented ſea-nymphs, and others the graces. Inſtead of trumpets and other martial inſtruments, was heard the ſofter muſic of Lydian flutes and hautboys, that played the moſt paſſionate effeminating airs, while the cadence of the oars rendered the harmony ſtill more agreeable. They burnt on the deck the moſt exquiſite perfumes, which ſpread all round a ſweet odour along both the banks of the river, which were covered with a prodigious croud of people, captivated and raviſhed with the novelty of the ſpectacle. The citizens of Tarſus, perceiving the pomp at a diſtance, were ſo ſtruck with it, that they believed it was the goddeſs Venus herſelf, and ran out to receive her. So that Antony, who was giving an audience on his tribunal, abandoned by the whole aſſembly, had none left about him but his lictors and domeſtic attendants. Underſtanding it was Cleopatra, he ſent to compliment her, and invite her to an entertainment; but ſhe anſwered his deputies, that ſhe wiſhed to entertain him in thoſe tents ſhe had ordered to be prepared on the banks of the river. Antony condeſcended with his uſual gallantry, and found

ſo

ſo magnificent a repaſt ready for him, that it far ſurpaſſed all the luxury and delicacy of of Italy. But he admired none of the decorations ſo much as certain artificial luſtres, diſpoſed with ſo much art, that their illuminations in the midſt of night ſeemed to rival the brightneſs of day itſelf. Cleopatra joined to the politeneſs of his reception all the inſinuating wit of converſation, and ſhewed, that beſides her country's language, ſhe underſtood perfectly the Roman, Greek, Ethiopian, Arabian, Hebrew and Syriac languages.

Antony would treat her in his turn, but ſhe neither found the feaſt elegant enough, nor his converſation ſo gallant and polite as to ſpare railying him upon his manners and taſte, which were more ſuitable to a ſoldier, than to a complete amorous courtier. She ſaid this with ſuch an air, and gaiety, that Antony was not offended; but, on the contrary, ſuffered himſelf to be ſo captivated with her charms, that tho' ſhe was above thirty years old, and conſequently paſſed the meridian of her beauty, he neglected all his moſt important affairs in Aſia, to follow her to Alexandria. It was there, that after he had languiſhed above a year in a ſhameful inactivity, he marched againſt the Parthians with more vanity than courage, and was obliged to return with more ſhame than glory.

This was the condition of Antony, when Cæſar informed him of the advantages he had gained in Sicily over Pompey[k]. He likewiſe acquainted him with that war he was going to make with the Illyrians; and, above all, he charged his deputies, to exhort him to free himſelf from the incantation of Cleopatra. He, beſides this, obliged Octavia to go to him, that he might render him odious and inexcuſable, if ſhe could not bring him back to his duty. She therefore departed with rich preſents for Antony, to whom ſhe likewiſe brought two thouſand ſoldiers, choſen out of the beſt legions in Italy. But all this was to no purpoſe; and Antony was not capable of a rational repentance, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter.

We muſt now return to Cæſar, who leading a life quite different from that of Antony, bent all his thoughts towards advancing his glory by lawful wars, and ſuch as were uſeful to the republic. So that upon the news that came to town, that the Illyrians had driven out the Roman garriſons, he reſolved to carry his arms on that ſide, that he might make them return to their obedience. He made Agrippa lieutenant-general of his army, and departing after he had taken leave of the ſenate, paſſed the Alps, and entered Illyrium.

[k] *Dion, Appian, Plutarch.*

This

This country. which was likewiſe called Sclavonia, was formerly of a much greater extent than it is at preſent [l]. For it contained all that tract of land which lies above Macedonia and Thrace along the Danube, from the mouth of the river to its ſource, from whence it deſcends towards the Adriatick Sea, and extends itſelf along the coaſt as far as the Ionian. It was divided as it is at preſent, into many nations different in name, language, and manners; though the fabulous annals of the Grecians make them all deſcend from one Illyrius, ſon of the Cyclops Polyphemus, and the nymph Galatea.

The moſt illuſtrious of theſe people, and the moſt known by the war they had with the Romans, were the Illyrians, or Sclavonians, ſtrictly ſo called, with the Dalmatians, and the Myſians.

When Julius Cæſar deliberated about the war he deſigned to declare againſt the Parthians [m], he reſolved, in his way, to make an inroad into the country of theſe people, who were continually mutinying, that he might thereby ſubdue them. But thy appeaſed the ſtorm that threatned them, by ſending deputies to Rome, and took a new

[l] *It is at preſent in the poſſeſſion of the houſe of Auſtria.*

[m] *Dion, Appian, Plutarch, Florus.*

oath

oath of fidelity; and accepting the conditions the ſenate impoſed upon them, they received Atinius, who was ſent as their governor, with three legions, and ſome regiments of horſe. Their obedience laſted no longer than Julius Cæſar lived; for, having heard of his death, they revolted againſt Atinius, and gave him battle, in which his lieutenant was killed, and Atinius himſelf eſcaped with great difficulty. The ſenate afterwards decreed this province, with that of Macedonia, to Marcus Brutus; but the civil wars gave him far different employment from that of going to ſubject theſe rebels. Octavius Cæſar ſent Aſinius Pollio, who beat the Dalmatians in ſeveral battles, and demoliſhed their principal fortreſſes; but he penetrated no farther.

Cæſar being come in perſon, found that theſe people were divided into fourteen cantons, who had united to defend their liberty, having overturned the Roman ſtandards, and driven out the gariſons that had been put in their beſt towns. He entered their country, and conquered them one after another: but this was not without difficulty, and ſpilling a deal of blood; for it was neceſſary to lay many ſieges, and give fourteen general battles in leſs than two years.

The people of Malta and Corſica, two iſlands neighbouring to theſe people, and leagued with them, did not ſurrender till they were forced by the Roman fleet and armies.

He

He had the greateſt trouble in reducing the Salaſſians [n], who joined with the Segeſtani [o], and the Dalmatæ, had ruined the Roman fortifications, and treated very diſhonourably Veturius his lieutenant, whom they forced to go out of their country. Cæſar durſt not himſelf reſent this injury, which he diſſembled, and contented himſelf with a ſubmiſſion, which thoſe Barbarians made him by their deputies. He marched after this againſt the Japides [p], the moſt valiant and mutinous of theſe people, having taken their city of Metulia, after a very bloody ſiege, wherein he ran more than once the risk of his life, and was wounded upon an occaſion which deſerves to be related.

He had ordered a general aſſault [q]; and, to facilitate the ſucceſs, had raiſed beyond the ditch, which he had made himſelf maſter of, towers of an equal height with the wall; and from thoſe towers they flung with machines, a bridge, which they let down upon the wall. Thus the ſoldier, inſtead of aſcending to the aſſault was carried to it, and had nothing to do but enter the town. But the enemy coming up to the place where they ſaw theſe bridges deſcending, broke off the three firſt, and

[n] *Thoſe of Piedmont.* [o] *Thoſe of Croatia.* [p] *Thoſe of Carniola.* [q] *Dion, Appian, Plutarch, Suetonius.*

throwiug

throwing down the Romans into the ditch, they made a dreadful ſlaughter of them. There ſtill remained a fourth bridge, but no one durſt truſt himſelf upon it. Cæſar, who ſaw all from an eminence, in vain exhorted his ſoldiers to take courage: the fate of their companions, whoſe bodies they ſaw in the ditch; and the beſieged, who ſtood upon the ramparts to receive them in the ſame manner, made them deaf to all the threats or encouragements of the general. He was therefore forced to come himſelf, and notwithſtanding the reſiſtance of Agrippa, having ſnatched a buckler from a ſoldier who ſtood near him, and had refuſed to go upon the bridge, he entered it himſelf with ſword in hand, and advanced towards the wall with an intrepidity that aſtoniſhed the enemy. All the officers of the army ſhewed an ardor to do the ſame, ſo that the bridge being overloaded broke in two, and they all fell at the foot of the wall, where they ſtill had to receive the diſcharge of their enemy. There were many ſlain, and almoſt all wounded. Cæſar was ſo in three places, upon his right thigh, and in both his arms; but, without any viſible fear, he returned quickly to his firſt poſt, that he might ſhew himſelf to the ſoldiers who were alarmed at this accident; and would not ſuffer any bandage to be put upon his wounds, till he had given orders for building a new bridge, upon which he ſaid he would return to the

aſſault

aſſault as ſoon as they had dreſſed his wounds. The beſieged, who ſaw from the rampart all that paſſed, were frighted at this reſolution, and asked a capitulation. Cæſar having permitted them to propoſe their conditions, they ſent their deputies, who came armed; but they were ordered to lay down their arms at the firſt guard. Being entirely ignorant of the Roman cuſtoms, they thought they were going to be murdered, and returning to the city ſpread the alarm every where. Meeting all together upon this in the market-place, they took a moſt ſtrange reſolution; for having ſhut up in their town-houſe their wives and children they ſet fire to it, and ruſhing at the ſame time out of their gates, like men in their laſt deſpair, they fell upon the Roman ſoldiers who cut them all to pieces. Thus periſhed that furious city, either by the ſwords of their enemy, or the fire of its own inhabitants.

Other places being thus intimidated, ſurrendered at diſcretion; ſo that all Illyrium returned to the Roman obedience. But Cæſar thought, in order to ſecure theſe conqueſts, he muſt take from the Illyrians the reſources they had from Pannonia [r], and amongſt the Daci [s], reſolved to make war upon thoſe people, and put them out of a condition of aſſiſting the enemies of Rome.

[r] *Auſtria and the lower Hungary.* [s] *The Tranſylvanians.*

But,

But, to enter into Pannonia, he muſt paſs thorough the lands of the Sageſtani, whom Cæſar had not dared to puniſh; having contented himſelf with their ſubmiſſion, without impoſing any tribute upon them, or obliging them to receive a garriſon in their towns [t]. But, becoming more bold by the happy ſucceſſes he had had over the Japides, he reſolved to march directly to Sageſtum [u], and oblige the inhabitants willingly, or by force, to receive a Roman garriſon. This city is upon the Save, which waſhes it on one ſide, where it is very deep; and it has on the other a good ditch, and ſtrong walls. Cæſar ſent to ſummons the inhabitants, bidding them open their gates, and find quarters for his troops. For he had reſolved to make it his armoury, and lodge his magazines there; deſigning to uſe the convenience of the river, in ſending down proviſions in boats, which might follow the army. The Segeſtani having refuſed it, he flung a bridge over the river, in ſpite of all the enemy could do to hinder him; and having paſſed over his troops upon it, he made them labour in the circumvallation of the place, ſo that they could neither get proviſions nor ſuccour. The Pannonians, eſcorting a convoy with a ſtrong guard, were entirely defeated; and the Segeſtani forced to ſurrender, after a month's ſiege. Cæſar, who

[t] *Dion, Appian, Florus.* [u] *Siſeg. in Croatia.*

might

might have punished them as rebels, contented himself with a moderate fine, and freed them from pillage.

The Pannonians after the taking this fortress which covered their country came and submitted to Cæsar. He left twenty five cohorts in garison, and returned to Rome.

Scarce [x] were they arrived there but news came that the Segestani having revolted had slain the garrison [y]. Tho' it was winter he did not hesitate about what he was to do, but immediately began his march at the head of his army. Upon entering the province he understood indeed, that the people had revolted, but the garrison had repulsed the rebels, and driven them out of the city, of which they had made themselves masters. Instead then of continuing on his march, he made his army take the route of Dalmatia, upon advice he received, that the city of Promina had been taken by the Dalmatæ, from the Liburnians who had continued faithful to the Romans; and that Versus a famous captain of the Barbarians made continual inroads into their country.

Cæsar therefore resolved not only to take Promina, but still to pursue the enemy till he had intirely defeated them. He therefore laid siege to the place, all the heights of which he possessed himself of, and a

[x] *Year of Rome* 720. [y] *Appian.*

few

few days after he carried the place by assault. But the garrison having retired to the castle, he received it the next day by composition.

He was severe towards his own soldiers [z], for a cohort which was upon guard at the gate of the city having abandoned its post upon an alarm that the enemy was coming in the night, he made it be decimated: and not content with putting to death those upon whom the lot fell, he would not have distributed to the others any thing but barley-bread during the summer. It was thus, that while he gained his enemies by his clemency, he kept his soldiers in obedience, by the severity of a strict discipline.

Being master of Promina [a] he chaced the Dalmatæ, pursued them into their own forts, and hindered them from entering into Setonia the best of their places where they had a mind to intrench themselves. He besieged the fortress and took it, after having beat the succours which had a mind to enter it. He marched afterwards against the city of Derbe, which did not expect a siege, and sent him it's keys. Thus after having conquered all these Barbarians in the rigor of winter, he returned a second time victorius to Rome [b]. The senate for these

[z] *Suetonius.* [a] *Dion Appian.* [b] *Year of Rome* 721.

two

two expeditions decreed him the honor of a triumph, but he put of the ſolemnity till after the war which he foreſaw he muſt make againſt Antony.

This general had awakned his jealouſy ſince the defeat of Pompey, and taking umbrage at the ſucceſs of Cæſar, he reſolved upon finding means of putting a ſtop to it; to which the ambition of Cleopatra animated him daily, but he ought never to have let Pompey have been oppreſſed, who was only capable of ballancing the power of Cæſar. It ſeemed Cleopatra and he had a mind to repair this fault by the great preparations they were making by ſea and land. All the ports of Aſia and Egypt were full of their ſhips of war, and the towns and villages of their troops. Cæſar on the contrary made leſs noiſe, and took his meaſures better. His fleets were all ready; and his legions exerciſed by a good diſcipline, and a continued war they had had with martial nations, breathed nothing but revenge and battle. But he would precipitate nothing, having for maxim, to proceed ſlowly, and praiſing this ſentence, which he after had in his mouth: that it is always ſoon enough done, that is well done. Wherefore he made leſs account of theſe who got themſelves out of danger by their valour after they had expoſed themſelves by their own fault, than of ſuch as avoided danger by their prudence; add to this, he

was

was politically glad that Antony effeminated his courage by the luxuries of Alexdria, and provoked the Roman people by the effeminate life he led with Cleopatra, and the contempt he had of Octavia, for whose virtues the Romans had the highest veneration.

She[c] had left Rome, as we said before, escorted by a squadron commanded by one of Cæsar's lieutenants, with a design of visiting Antony at Alexandria. But she received letters in her voyage, which obliged her to put into Athens, where Antony sent her word he would meet her. This was only to hinder her coming to Alexandria; for she was no sooner at Athens but she received a second letter from Antony, who excused himself for not being able to come there. Cleopatra had hindered him, but he had taken, as a pretext, that voyage he was obliged to take into Persia and Media.

It is true, he was preparing for this expedition upon a proposal that was made him by the king of the Medes, to join with him against the Parthians; and in reality Antony could not pardon the affront he had received, and the danger he had run, but began his march with a fine army, which the Mede was to join upon the borders of Araxes to march from thence into the enmies country, having a design likewise to seize upon the provinces of

[c] *Dion, Appian, Plutarch.*

the

the uufortunate Artabazus, whom he ſtill kept a priſoner. But he contented himſelf with having ſhewn his power, and having his mind only filled with voluptous thoughts, inſtead of going to fight the Parthians he turned his his thoughts entirely upon compleating the marriage of the young Alexander, the eldeſt of thoſe children he had by Cleopatra, with the young princeſs of the Medes.

Thus this great army, deſigned for the conqueſt of more than one kingdom, was no otherwiſe employed but in the ſolemnity of theſe nuptials, from which Antony returned with all ſpeed to Cleopatra, not being able to ſupport life without her.

He therefore took no care to anſwer the tenderneſs of Octavia, or ſee her at Athens. But this virtuous Roman deſſembling the injury that had been done her, ſent to him to aſk to what place he would have thoſe preſents conveyed, ſince he would not give her an opportunity of preſenting them herſelf. Antony received no better this compliment than the firſt: and Cleopatra who had hindered him from ſeeing Octavia would not premit him to receive any thing from her hand; ſo that Octavia was obliged to return to Rome, without her voyage having any other effect but rendering Antony more criminal; which was preciſely what Cæſar wiſhed for.

This

This voyage renewed the jealousy of Cleopatra[d]; for Octavia, pretending herself the lawful wife of Antony, had provoked Cleopatra to such a degree, that she would not bear the presence of her whom she looked upon as her rival, and whose marriage with Antony she had a great difficulty with herself to pardon. It was necessary besides, for Antony to give her the provinces of Syria and Cilicia, Phenicia, and the island of Cyprus; and that he added to them the kingdom of Judea, with that of Arabia, tho' he had disposed of the former to Herod, and the other was possessed by a prince of the country. He had given her all these liberalities before he went into Medea, but he added new ones at his return; dividing betwixt her and her children the provinces of the empire, with a magnificence which would have been worthy of the emperor of the universe, if it had not been the consequence of luxury and debauchery, in which Cleopatra and he passed both night and day. This vain princess dared at one feast, seeing Antony filled with wine, to ask of him the whole Roman empire; and Antony was not ashamed, with as much vanity, to promise it.

It was for the conquest of this empire, which was not as yet in the possession of him who promised it, that Antony and Cleopatra made be equipped in all the ports of Egypt

[d] *Dion, Appian, Plutarch, Florus.*

and

and Asia, so powerful a fleet, with which they pretended to conquer Italy, and enter triumphant into Rome. Before they left Alexandria, for so great a design, Antony would have performed, the ceremony of the coronation of Cleopatra and her children.

They raised for this purpose in the palace a throne of massy gold [d], which was ascended by several steps of silver. Antony was seated upon this throne; cloathed in a habit of purple with an embroidery of gold, and diamond buttons, having at his side a scimiter after the Persian fashion, whose handle and scabbard were loaded with precious stones; he had a diadem on his head, with a sceptre of gold in his hand, to the end, as he said, that in this royal equipage he might deserve to be the husband of a queen. Cleopatra was seated at his right hand cloathed in a shining vestment, made of that precious flax so boasted of in sacred and prophane history, and of which at this day we neither know the nature nor composition, and whether it came from Elis a city of Achaia whose fields produced this sort of fine flax, or it was a cotton which they took from a fruit like to our chesnuts, is uncertain. However this might be, it was a cloth of this fine flax with which the Egyptians cloathed their goddess Isis,

[d] *Appian.*

the name and dress of whom Cleopatra had the vanity to assume to herself.

Upon this throne, but a little lower, was placed Cesarion the son of Cleopatra and Julius Cæsar, and the other children which she had had by Antony [e]. Every one having taken the place that was assigned him, the herald by the command of Antony, and in presence of all the people, to whom they had opened the doors of the palace, proclaimed Cleopatra queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Libya, and Gaul, conjointly with her son Cesarion. He proclaimed after this the other princes, kings of kings [f], and declared that waiting for more ample dominions, he assigned to Alexander who was the eldest, the kingdoms of Armenia and the Medes, and that of Parthia, when he had conquered it, and to Ptolomy his youngest, the kingdoms of Syria, Phenicia and Cilicia. These two young princes were cloathed after the manner of those countries over which they were to reign: Alexander in a robe after the Persian fashion, with a royal turban that the kings of Persia wore; and Ptolomy with a long mantle and cloth of silver, having buskins upon his feet, and a diadem upon his head. After the proclamation, the three princes getting up from their seats approached the

[e] *Dion, Appian,* [f] *Dion says this was only Cæsarion.*

throne

throne, and bending a knee, kiſſed the hands of Antony and Cleopatra. They gave them likewiſe a train proportioned to their new dignity, and each had a regiment of guards drawn out of the principal families of his ſtates.

In the mean time the deputies that Cæſar had ſent to Antony, and who had followed Octavia to Athens did not return with her to Rome; but went to find Antony at Alexandria, and acquitted themſelves boldly of their commiſſion. For after having delivered Cæſar's letters to him they ſummoned him to leave Cleopatra and the court of Egypt, and take again Octavia, that he might hold with honor what his birth and employments gave him in the empire [g]. Cleopatra who was preſent at ſo bold a diſcourſe did not ſhew her reſentment upon the ſpot; but the deputies who were advertiſed of the reſolution ſhe had taken to put them to death, retired ſecretly from the court, and came to give an account of their embaſſy. They were ſoon followed by the deputies of Antony, who were charged with injurious letters for Cæſar, and a very hard order for Octavia. For Antony having a mind to be revenged for the affront he thought he had from Cæſar [h], reproached him with having a criminal converſation with ſeveral la-

[g] *Appian.* [h] *Suetonius.*

dies, and profaning in his debaucheries the majesty of the gods, by making his guests take the names of gods and goddesses, and assuming to himself that of Apollo.

He added, that Cæsar should rather think of correcting his own faults, than censuring those of others. Besides these offensive letters, the deputies had a commission to bid Octavia, with her children, leave Antony's house [i], with those she had had by Marcellus her former husband, and those she had by Antony himself; and upon her refusing to obey, they had orders to force her out, and to leave none in the house but that son which Antony had had by Fulvia; an injury the more sensible to Octavia, as her rival was the cause of it. But, stifling her resentment, she did not answer the deputies of her husband, but by her tears; and how unjust soever his orders were, she obeyed, and went out of his house with her children. She shewed herself likewise in the city to appease the people, whom the unworthiness of this action had wrought up to a mutiny; and, in a word, did all she could to moderate the anger of Cæsar. She represented to them, that it did not become their prudence, or the dignity of the Roman name, to enter into those petty disputes which were nothing but the squabbles of women, which were below their notice; and

[i] *Appian.*

that

that ſhe ſhould be plunged into deſpair, if ſhe proved the cauſe of a new civil war; ſhe, who had only conſented to her marriage with Antony, in hopes it would be a pledge of union betwixt him and Cæſar.

A proceeding very different from that of Fulvia [k]. For they ſay, her jealouſy more than her ambition had ſtirred up theſe diſorders, we have ſpoken of in the firſt part of this hiſtory; and that ſhe had put all Italy in confuſion, to the end that Antony might come and extinguiſh the fire. Octavia, on the contrary, giving up her reſentment to the conſideration of the public repoſe, conſented to bear the injuries ſhe ſuffered from Antony, provided her country might have no ſhare in them. Theſe remonſtrances had, notwithſtanding, a ſucceſs quite contrary to her intentions; and the people being charmed with the mildneſs of her virtue, redoubled their compaſſion of her misfortunes, and the hatred they had conceived againſt Antony.

But nothing provoked their minds ſo much as Antony's will [l], which he left as a depoſitum in the hands of the veſtals. This was a myſtery revealed by two perſons of conſular diſtinction [m], who had been preſent at the harangue made by the deputies of Cæſar, and had taken their flight with them, not being able to bear the exceſſive pride of Cleopatra, and the abandoned effeminacy

[k] *Plutarch.* [l] *Appian.* [m] *Titus and Plancus.*

and ſervitude of Antony. As they had been called to this teſtament, and knew the ſecret of it, they revealed it to Cæſar. But the veſtals made a difficulty of delivering up an act intruſted to them, excuſing themſelves upon the promiſe of ſecrecy, which they had made; and at laſt were forced to a breach of their word by the authority of the people. Thus the teſtament being brought into the forum, where the people were aſſembled, there was read aloud theſe three articles: firſt, That Antony acknowledged Cæſarion for the lawful ſon of Julius Cæſar, and by conſequence his ſucceſſor. Secondly, that he inſtituted, as his own heirs, thoſe children he had had by Cleopatra, with the quality of kings of kings. Thirdly, that he ordered, in caſe he ſhould die at Rome, that his body, after it had been drawn in pomp through the city, and laid upon a bed of ſtate, where it ſhould paſs a night, ſhould be convey'd on the following day with an eſcorte to Cleopatra; to whom he committed the entire care of his funeral.

There are notwithſtanding ſome authors, who believe that this teſtament was a fictitious piece invented by Cæſar, to make Antony odious to the people. In reality, what manner of appearance of truth is there, that Antony who knew well to what a point the Roman people were jealous of their rights and cuſtoms, would have even truſted to them the

execution

execution of a will, which violated them all with ſo much contempt and haughtineſs.

Whatever was the fact, the people could not hear without indignation, that Antony deſigned to make the children of Cleopatra enjoy the rights of legitimacy, when the Roman laws made them be looked upon as baſtards; but they were chiefly offended with the article of burial, which he had choſen in Egypt, with a declared ſcorn of his country. For they decreed him fallen from the dignity of a Roman citizen, which he had made himſelf unworthy of, by renouncing his religion, and the ſepulchre of his anceſtors. They added a public act, whereby they proſcribed Antony, and charged Cæſar with making war againſt him. This was a piece of Cæſar's cuſtomary policy, who would never undertake a war, without having drawn over the people and ſenate to his intereſt; at leaſt, in appearance, diſſembling his private injuries, and feigning not to be ſenſible of any but thoſe of the republic.

Having thus obtained the conſent of the people, and decree of the ſenate, he took off the mask, and gave publickly orders to equip a fleet, and have all the legions filled up; but, as he had given thoſe orders ſecretly before, all was ready, when it was neceſſary for him to depart. But he would firſt ſee what the motions of Antony were, knowing very well that ſuffering himſelf to be conducted, as he did by

Cleopatra, he would commit new faults, which would make his defeat more easy. In effect, Antony left to his lieutenants the care of his fleets and armies, and wasted his time in shameful diversions, or vain audiences, which he gave in the palace of Alexandria, to the kings and princes of Asia. Oftentimes he would not listen to them, amusing himself with reading love-letters, which Cleopatra had sent him, writ with diamonds upon crystal tablets; and sometimes seeing her pass by, in a superb litter, all glittering with gold, he would break off the assembly to go to her and keep her company.

He thus consumed a whole year in effeminacy, after the return of the deputies [n], whom he had sent to Rome, giving by this inertness all the time that was necessary to Cæsar, to compleatly equip his naval power. For the principal struggle was to be made at sea, of which Antony pretended to make himself master, by a numerous fleet; and, after the example of Pompey, shut up the ports of Italy and famish Rome. But so great a design ill agreed with a voluptuary, who had no longer for glory any but transient affections. At last he gave orders [o], that all the army should rendezvous at Samos, whither he came himself with Cleopatra, who

[n] *Dion, Appian, Plutarch.*
[o] *Year of Rome* 722.

would

would not quit him, to the end that as ſhe had been the principal cauſe of this war, ſhe might be the cauſe of the unfortunate concluſion.

The ſplendor of the court was no leſs at Samos, than at Alexandria. Thoſe kings who were in the train of Antony and Cleopatra, exhauſted themſelves by extraordinary expences to pleaſe them, and diſplayed in their feaſts an exceſſive luxury.

The court came from Samos to Athens, where it paſſed ſeveral days in the ſame debauches. Cleopatra ſpared nothing to obtain of the Athenians the ſame marks of affection and eſteem, which Octavia had received from them; but ſhe could not gain her end, ſhe only drew from them ſome forced civilities, which terminated in a vain deputation which Antony exacted of the people, and of which he would be the head himſelf, in quality of a good and well-affectioned citizen of Athens, to heighten the jeſt and complete the comedy.

They returned after this to Samos, to ſee their fleet, which was newly arrived there [p]. It was compoſed of five hundred ſhips of war, of an extraordinary ſize and ſtructure, having ſeveral bridges raiſed one above another, with caſtles upon the poups and prows of a prodigious height; ſo that to have ſeen theſe proud veſſels in the midſt of the ſea,

[p] *Dion, Appian, Plutarch, Florus.*

one would have taken them for a magnificent floating city. They made use of sails and oars in several ranks, from six to ten; and there was a necessity of a numerous equipage to work these heavy machines. Antony, not finding sailors sufficient, had been forced to make use of labourers, artizans, carriers and porters, with all such persons who had no experience and were more proper to cause confusion than to do any real service, as it appeared in the execution.

They embarked in this fleet an hundred thousand foot and twenty-two thousand horse, besides the auxiliary troops which amounted to more than thirty thousand men. The kings of Libya, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, of Comagenes and Thrace, were there in person; and those of Pontus, Judea, Lacaonia, Galatia and Media, had sent their contingents. One could not possibly see a more pompous shew, than this fleet with spread sails in open sea. But, above all, nothing equalled the magnificence of Cleopatra's galley, that shone with gold and sails of silk and purple; its pendants and streamers of the richest colours, sported in the winds; while trumpets, and other instruments of war, played airs of gladness and triumph. Antony closely attended her, in a ship that was scarce less ornamented; the army then followed, conducted by Publicola, who brought up the right wing where Antony himself was to fight:

fight: Celius conducted the left, and two lieutenants-general were in the midſt.

The fleet being thus diſpoſed came and landed in Epire, in the gulf of Ambracia [q], where it entered, after having diſembarked thoſe troops, who pitched their camps upon the two oppoſite ſhores. Actium, that was then not ſo famous as it became by the battle which was fought before it ſoon after, was ſituated upon the ſouthern ſhore of the gulf, and was not conſiderable but by a temple of Apollo, which Antony incloſed in the circumvallation of his camp.

If he had followed the counſel of his wiſeſt captains, he would never have expoſed his fortune to the hazard of a ſea-battle, being ſuperior by land to Cæſar, in legions and cavalry. But it was a long time that Antony had taken no prudent advice, not bearing to do any thing but what pleaſed Cleopatra. This vain, wanton princeſs, who judged of nothing but by the exterior, thought her fleet upon account of its appearance and gaiety to be invincible, and that the ſhips of Cæſar could not approach it without being ſhattered to pieces. Thus ſhe preferred, by her weak, womaniſh judgment, the ſea to land, eſteeming the victory certain.

But, whoever had ſeen the fleets and legions of Cæſar, would have made a judgment quite contrary to that of Cleopatra;

[q] *Gulf of Larta.*

because, in a less number of ships and men, he would have observed more experienced sailors, and disciplined soldiers; and, instead of the vain pomp, which glittered in Antony's army, he would have admired the beautiful order and good conduct in that of his enemy. Cæsar had only one hundred and fifty ships, which he kept ready in the ports of Brundusium and Tarentum; and his army was composed of eighty thousand foot, without auxiliary troops, having very near the same number of horse as Antony. But he had not in all his troops any but chosen soldiers, and expert sailors in his fleet, which was composed indeed of ships, not so great as Antony's, but more light and proper for battle.

Before he set sail he sent Antony a defiance, offering to abandon to him the ports of Italy, if he would make a descent, or meet him any where if he would disembark his troops to come to a close battle, man to man, that might decide their destiny, and terminate their quarrels by the defeat of the one or the other; leaving to Antony the choice of waiting for him, or coming himself into Italy. Antony made answer, that he accepted Cæsar's defiance, offering to fight him personally in inclosed ground; but as for the rest, if they must have a battle, he would make use of all his forces as well by sea as land.

Cæsar

Cæſar, having underſtood the reſolution of Antony, ſaw clearly he muſt prepare himſelf for a ſea-fight. He therefore embarked all his troops, and after the cuſtomary ſacrifices, which the prieſts had given a favourable account of, he ſet ſail for Epire, and came to anchor in the mouth of the gulf, thorough which Antony's Fleet had entered. Being thus at anchor, he landed his horſe, and the beſt part of his legions, upon that place where he afterwards built Nicopolis, which is on the other ſide of Actium [r]; not keeping in his veſſels any more than about twenty-five thouſand men. In this manner his fleet took up the whole channel, and his army by land incloſed the outſide of the gulf, ſo that Antony ſaw himſelf beſiged both by ſea and land.

The boldneſs and fine order of Cæſar's fleet obliged Antony to hold a council [s]. Almoſt all were for abandoning the ſea to the enemy, and intrenching themſelves at land. Canidius himſelf, Antony's admiral, was of this opinion, tho' he had formerly been of a contrary ſentiment. But Cleopatra, perſiſting in her firſt reſolution, drew over a ſecond time Antony to her party, who in ſpite of all the reaſons of his council, would fight on board his fleet. It is ſaid that an old colonel very well-affectioned to his

[r] *Appian, Dion, Plutarch.*
[s] *Year of Rome* 723.

ſervice,

ſervice, ſeeing him buſy in the embarkation of his troops, came up to him, and baring his breaſt all ſeamed with wounds, ſpoke to him in this manner: "Ah! my general, "why do you not rather truſt to ſuch ram-"parts as theſe, which fear not the arrows "of the enemy, than to the frail walls of "your ſhips, ſubject to the inconſtancy of "wind and weather." Antony, ſurpriſed at this remonſtrance, felt the force of it; but his fate dragged him on, and the confuſion in which theſe words put him, hindering him from giving an anſwer; he made a melancholy ſign with his hand and head, and faintly bid him be of good courage. In the mean time he continued the embarkation of his troops, and ſeeing that the ſtreights did not permit him to make uſe of all his fleet, he left ſixty of his largeſt ſhips in the port, and he embarked on the reſt twenty-two thouſand Roman ſoldiers, and two thouſand archers. The reſt of the troops remained at land, to obſerve thoſe which Cæſar had diſembarked, and, in imitation of him, find a reſource after the battle. Thus they expoſed their fortune to the hazard of a battle, in ſuch a manner that there ſtill remained to them, a refuge in the armies they had landed.

A few days before the battle, Domitius Enobarbus, who, from Pompey's party had gone over to that of Antony, refuſing to ſubject himſelf to the empire of Cleopatra, and

and inevitably perish with Antony, who had more deference for the whims and fancies of this princess, than for all the counsels of his wisest captains, came privately by night and surrendered himself to Cæsar. Antony, in whom all the seeds of virtue were not quite extinguished, did, on this occasion, a generous action; for he sent him the following day all his domesticks and baggage, tho' Cleopatra did her utmost to hinder him, being provoked that Domitius had endeavoured to dissuade Antony from carrying her with him to the battle, where she had the folly and ambition to be in person. Cæsar, in requital of this generosity, permitted all those who pleased to go over to Antony, which they might do with safety, having given to two persons of consular dignity free passports, who had asked it of him. He had already suffered the people of Bolognia, who were Antony's vassals, to send him troops [t], without shewing them any ill will during the war, or resentment after the victory. The kings of Lycaonia and Galatia, who had joined Antony's army at Actium, left him likewise, and retired to Cæsar.

These desertions were a bad augury for Antony [u], to whom every day something of an ominous nature happened, whilst Cæsar had nothing but happy presages; amongst

[t] *Suetonius, Dion.*

[u] *Dion, Appian, Plutarch.*

which

which they relate this: upon the day of battle, as he was coming from his camp to go on board his fleet, he met a peasant driving his ass, and asked the fellow his name? I am called Eutychus, reply'd the clown, and my honest ass, Nicon: the first of these terms signifies fortunate, and the latter victorious[x]. I accept the augury, replied Cæsar; and receive it as a prediction that the gods send me to a successful battle. He remembered this casualty afterwards, and would have a monument of it to posterity; for, after the victory he ordered medals to be struck, with this adventure stamped upon them. In fine, in the year seven hundred and twenty-three from the foundation of Rome, the second day of September, the month in which Cæsar was born[y], and for which reason he thought it happy to him; the two armies were drawn up in form of battle, in the same gulf where they had cast anchor. Antony had changed nothing of the order of his fleet[z], and having prayed Cleopatra to keep in the rear-guard, with sixty of his best ships, he took the right wing where was Publicola. Cæsar was in the same point of his army, having given the left to Agrippa. The sea is so narrow in the streights, where those two fleets advanced to battle, that it is not above a league wide, so

[x] *In the Greek tongue.* [y] *Dion.* [z] *Dion, Appian, Plutarch.*

that

that the veſſels drew up with difficulty; and there was all the morning ſuch a calm, that Antony's great ſhips being motionleſs, Cæſar thought they had caſt anchor, and knew not what to reſolve on; for it was dangerous to attack thoſe unweildy caſtles in the ſtreights, where the frigates could be of no ſervice by their lightneſs and quick motion. But a freſh wind ariſing about noon, gave motion to Antony's fleet, which began to advance to the open ſea, as if it had a deſign to hinder Cæſar from flying, becauſe Agrippa having a deſign to draw the enemy from his hold, pretended to be afraid. But, as ſoon as he was come out, Agrippa wheeled his ſhips to gain the wind, and came with full ſails upon the enemy. The frigates attacking thoſe enormous ſhips turned round by the favour of the wind, without offering to board them, becauſe they feared being ſhattered to pieces againſt thoſe bulky veſſels, whoſe prows and ſides were armed with iron, contenting themſelves with pouring in arrows, and artful fires which they darted from machines.

Antony's fleet did not move ſo eaſily, having a contrary wind, and wanting good ſailors. Add to this, that thoſe groſs towers which they had raiſed upon their veſſels, and thoſe ponderous bars of iron which loaded their prows, ſerved for nothing but to make the heavy buildings the more immoveable.

In

In the mean time the day began to be upon its decline, without any one perceiving on which ſide the victory leaned; when Agrippa ordering thoſe ſhips to come up which had the artificial fires, charged Publicola with ſo much reſolution that he could not ſupport ſuch a tempeſt of fiery darts and torches, which Agrippa poured upon his ſhip and all his ſquadron. Antony himſelf was ſo frighted with this tempeſt, which broke his ſhips, or ſet them on fire, that he took ſea-room to ſave himſelf. This remiſſion cauſed his defeat; for Agrippa, perceiving the right wing weakned, attacked it with ſo much impetuoſity and fixed courage, that ſurrounding it on all ſides, he flung it into diſorder and confuſion; and Cleopatra, who perceived this diſadvantage, immediately hoiſted ſail, and truſted to flight with the rear-guard which followed her. Antony, who had his eyes always fixed upon her, no ſooner ſaw her making off, but he thought of following her; and, to this purpoſe, throwing himſelf into a ſmall barge, with only two domeſticks for his attendants, he made the beſt of his way with oars and ſails to come up with them. In the mean time, a remainder of the love of glory making him turn his eyes to his fleet, which he ſo weakly abandoned, and that was ſtill fighting for him, he could not ſtifle his agony, ſtrugling in vain to ſeparate himſelf from the object of his fatal paſſion; for his love became

ſtronger

ſtronger than his courage and ambition, and removed him from his army to draw near to Cleopatra.

The firſt who perceived his flight was Euricles [a], his particular enemy, upon account of the murder of his father, whom Antony had put to a cruel death. He was a captain of reputation, native of Lacademon, had been ſome years in Cæſar's pay, who had raiſed him to be admiral of a ſquadron. As he had not taken Cæſar's party but to find an occaſion of being revenged on Antony, he did not loſe the occaſion that offered; for purſuing him with his ſquadron he would infallibly have taken him, if the large veſſels of Cleopatra had not ſtopt his galleys. There was only that upon which Euricles himſelf was, which getting under the wind continued its way, and came ſo near to Antony's ſloop, they might ſpeak from on board to one another. This obliged Antony who was amazed at ſuch an obſtinate purſuit to ſpeak to Euricles in theſe Words. "Ah! "who art thou? who purſueſt me with "ſuch a ſpirit of revenge, and doſt all "that lies in thy power to be my de-"ſtruction. I am Euricles anſwered the "Lacedemonian, the ſon of the unfortu-"nate Lacharis whom thou unjuſtly didſt "put to death, as a pirate, and under the

[a] *Dion, Appian, Plutarch.*

"fortune

"fortune of Cæſar I purſue thee with juſt "vengeance for the bloody death of my "father, which can never be expiated but "by thy life." This diſcourſe was interrupted by thoſe who came to Antony's ſuccour, in the very moment when he was going to be made priſoner or ſlain by Euricles, who was forced to leave his prize, and content himſelf with two barges, loaded with the richeſt furniture of Cleopatra, which he ſafely carried off with him. It is thus that actions of blood and inhumanity ſeldom remain unpuniſhed, and perſons of the loweſt ſtation upon whom they are exerciſed ſeek with inflexibility, in the ſupport of the great, opportunities of taking a full and cruel revenge.

In the mean time Euricles regained the fleet which he found ſtill in a hard battle with the lieutenants of Antony; but the report which he ſpread every where of Antony's flight finiſhed the diſpair and confuſion of his ſquadrons. The victory was ſo complete[b] that Cæſar affirmed in a relation he made of the battle, that he had taken three hundered ſhips, and that there were killed five thouſand of the enemy in the combat, without loſing on his ſide almoſt a man[c]. He entered the evening into Actium, but would paſs the night in his own veſſel. The following day he made a

[b] *Appian, Plutarch.* [c] *Dion, Suetonius.*

review.

review of his fleet, and found nothing wanting but one ſmall veſſel that was ſunk: ſo cheap a bargain had he of ſo great a victory. The land army remained yet entire[d], conſiſting of eighteen legions and twenty two thouſand horſe, under the command of Canidius, Antony's lieutenant general. So that he might have oppoſed Cæſar by throwing part of his troops into the ſtrongeſt towns, and keeping the field with a flying camp, waiting till Antony joined him with new forces, which it would not have been difficult for him to have raiſed, all Aſia being ſtill in his intereſt. But the good fortune of Cæſar delivered him up this army, without its coſting him a drop of blood. Thoſe ſoldiers who had an eſteem and affection for Antony's valour, had a mind to continue faithful to him; but Canidius knowing his weakneſs for Cleopatra, which it was impoſſible for him to recover from, after having to no purpoſe waited ſeven days to hear of him, he did not think himſelf obliged to expoſe himſelf any longer for a man, who abandoned his own intereſt as well as the army, and therefore went and ſurrendered himſelf to Cæſar. All the army imitating him did the following day the ſame thing.

Antony's ſhips which had eſcaped the battle, could not ſave themſelves from ſhip-

[d] *Dion, Appian, Plutarch.*

wreck;

wreck; for a tempeſt riſing in the night, they were almoſt all either ſunk or ſhattered upon the coaſt, covering the ſea and neighbouring ſhores with the rich ſpoils of Aſia and Arabia, which they were loaded with; ſo that one might ſee float upon the waves cloth of gold and rich purple, which the ſeas caſt upon the ſhore; ornaments more ſuitable for women than ſoldiers.

In the mean time Antony being come up with Cleopatra's veſſel, was received into it. He [c] was no ſooner entered, but ſhame and deſpair ſucceeding on a ſudden the tranſports of his love, he remained three whole days upon the deck without ſpeaking to any one, without refreſhment, or going into the chamber where Cleopatra was, whether he did thus out of reſentment or confuſion it is uncertain. But being come to Tenarus where they diſembarked, they ſaw one another again, and love recovered its force, and ſilenced for a while all other paſſions.

Antony writ from this place to Canidius, ordering him to retire to Aſia thorough Macedonia: but his letters where never given. For himſelf, he reſolved to paſs into Libya without permitting his principal friends, who would have run his fortune, to accompany him; for having thanked them he diſmiſſed them all, loading them with rich preſents, and recommending them to the go-

[c] *Dion Appian, Plutarch.*

vernor

vernor of Corinth, who owed his fortune to him. He likewiſe, prayed this governor to conceal them till they ſhould make their peace with Cæſar. It was thus that the courage of Antony, being relaxed by wine and pleaſures, abandoned him in adverſity; and he thought he had loſt all by loſing one battle, tho' he had ſtill all Aſia, and the greateſt part of Afric for him.

He departed from Tenarus with Cleopatra, but having landed in Afric where he deſigned to remain, he obliged her to continue her route, and return to Alexandria, promiſing to come to her, as ſoon as he had viſited the army and the ſtrong places of the province. He only retained with him two learned men, Ariſtocrate, and Lucilius, the one a Grecian and the other a Roman, hoping to find in their converſation that comfort he had need of.

Lucilius [f] had been a friend of Brutus's, ſo far as to expoſe his own life for him; for Antony's ſoldiers purſuing the latter, after the defeat of his army at the battle of Phillipi met with Lucilius whom they took for the head of that party, and he let himſelf be carried away as if he had been really Brutus, whom by this ſtratagem he gave an opportunity to of eſcaping: and being thus brought into the preſence of Antony he gloried in the action. But the ſoldiers out of rage and diſappoint-

[f] *Appian, Plutarch.*

ment

ment were going to take his life from him, if Antony had not appeased them, by telling them, that he made no less esteem of the prisoner they brought, than if it had been Brutus himself, and would give them the same recompence. Lucilius being thus obliged, remained attached to the service of his benefactor, and gratitude effected in his mind what the admiration of his virtue had done in Antony's; so that the general in his disgrace could not have chosen for companions two more sure and useful persons. Nay, he would perhaps have avoided all his misfortunes, if he had listened to the wholesome counsels of these two philosophers. But such is the blindness of the greatest part of mankind, that they never have recourse to a remedy, till their distemper is become incurable. Antony did not yet know that the legions he had left at Actium were gone over to Cæsar; but he saw with his own eyes the desertion of those of Asric, who went and joined Cæsar's lieutenant in that province. He was so sensibly affected with this, foreseeing the misfortunes that were going to overwhelm him, that he had prevented them all by a stroke of despair, without the remonstrances and reasonings of Lucilius and Aristocrates.

After he had recovered from his grief he embarked for Alexandria; where, being arrived, he found Cleopatra, who was full of fear lest the battle of Actium should cause trouble

trouble in her ſtates [g]; and to avoid it, ſhe had made ſtrange executions. She had entered Alexandria in triumph, and had ordered chaplets to be put round the maſts of the ſhips to hide the defeat; but perceiving her arts were underſtood by every one, ſhe put to death all the nobles of her kingdom that were any ways ſuſpected by her; and, to win over the King of Media to her intereſt, ſhe ſent him as a preſent the head of the unfortunate king of Armenia his enemy, whom ſhe ordered to be beheaded in priſon. All this cruelty and raſh politics were not capable of ſecuring her againſt Cæſar's arms; ſhe therefore entertained a deſign of paſſing to the extremities of Aſia, and ſeeking an aſylum in the ſtates of ſome powerful prince, out of the reach of the Roman empire; and, to the end that nothing might be wanting to her in this foreign court, ſhe would tranſport thither all her treaſures and precious ſtones, with the moſt magnificent moveables of her palace. But, finding danger, in making ſo long a journey by land, thorough provinces which the victory of Actium would now ſubject to her enemy, who covered the Mediterranean with a triumphant navy, ſhe reſolved to embark on the Red-ſea, and have carried in chariots and waggons, ſhips enough for her and all her court. This ſea is not ſeparate from Egypt but by that cele-

[g] *Dion*, *Appian*, *Plutarch*.

brated isthmus, without which Afric would be an island. This neck of land has not above thirty leagues of breadth, so that it was not impossible for Cleopatra to transport her light ships by land; and Antony, in his return from Libya, found a part of them ready at the place of embarkation. But a piece of news, which Cleopatra received, broke all her measures, and brought this concerted design to nothing. For they sent her word, how the Arabians, who dwell upon the borders of this sea, and hide themselves in caves and inaccessable places, coming down from the mountains had set fire to her ships. Upon this, changing her resolution, she bent all her thoughts to gain Cæsar, whom she looked upon as a conqueror, and make a sacrifice to him of Antony, whom fortune had abandoned. Such was the mind of this unhappy luxurious princess, who, tho' she loved even to phrenzy, yet had more madness of ambition than love; and her crown being dearer to her than her gallant, she determined to preserve it at the expence of Antony's life. But, hiding from him her sentiments, she persuaded him to send ambassadors to Cæsar, to negotiate a treaty of peace [h]. She joined her own ambassadors to those of Antony, who, under pretence of making the same propositions, had orders to treat for her in particular; and carried a

[h] *Dion, Appian, Plutarch.*

sceptre

ſceptre and crown of gold which ſhe ſent to Cæſar, ſhewing by that ſhe acknowledged him for her lord and ſovereign.

Cæſar would not ſee Antony's ambaſſadors, but he had a private conference with thoſe of Cleopatra, and ſent them away with a ſeemingly favourable anſwer. Antony knew nothing of this intrigue: he only underſtood that Cæſar would not admit his ambaſſadors to an audience; and this bad ſucceſs was followed by two other pieces of news ſtill more vexatious to him, which came from different places. They ſent him word from the firſt, of the deſertion of the army commanded by Canidius; and from the ſecond let him know that Herod, who had been obliged to him for the kingdom of Judea, had left his party.

Yet he had not abandoned him as a baſe and treacherous perſon; for tho' he was cruel, he had ſeveral fine qualities, which had juſtly procured him the name of great. But he abandoned Antony, when he ſaw that Antony abandoned the care of his own intereſt. Herod was not preſent at the battle of Actium [1], becauſe he made war in Arabia, to ſatisfy the ambition of Cleopatra, who having cauſed Antony to give her that kingdom, and that of Judea, thought ſhe could not better put herſelf in poſſeſſion of it, than by means of this war; by making uſe

[1] *Plutarch, Joſephus.*

of Herod to conquer for her the kingdom of Arabia, and probably make him perish in the attempt, and so possess herself of the kingdom of Judea afterwards. But Herod deceived her, and returned victorious. He had assisted Antony with money, soldiers, and provision; and he had even given him good counsel, which Antony did not follow: for he counselled him by his letters to send back Cleopatra, if he designed to gain the battle; and, in case he should lose it, he counselled him to retire into Egypt, and defend all the avenues. At his return from Arabia he came to find Antony, and exhorted him still not to despair of his fortune; giving him to understand at the same time, that he had only one measure to take: it was to get rid of Cleopatra, who was the cause of all his misfortunes, and would not fail of sacrificing him to Cæsar; that he ought therefore to prevent her, and by her death assure to himself the kingdom of Egypt, where he might still with what troops he had, and friends that would return to him, stop Cæsar's progress, and perhaps re-establish his own fortune. It was thus that Herod, giving an useful counsel to Antony, thought at the same time of revenging himself of Cleopatra, who had designed his death in the war against Arabia, and endeavoured to deprive him of his kingdom. But Antony, not able to quit Cleopatra, rejected the advice of Herod, who thought there was no longer any security for him

him in Antony's party, and ſo went and made his ſubmiſſion to Cæſar at Rhodes. He preſented himſelf to him without his diadem, but with all the other marks of royalty, and ſpoke to him likewiſe as a king who came to offer him his friendſhip, rather than a ſuppliant who came to beg his favour; he acknowledged the affection he had had for Antony, what he had done for him, and what he had ſtill purpoſed to do, finiſhing by theſe words: "It is not out of inconſtan-
" cy I leave him, or becauſe fortune ſeems
" to have abandoned him. If he would
" have followed my counſels, I would ſtill
" have been with him, and willingly have
" hazarded a kingdom which I hold from
" his liberality, and risked my own life it-
" ſelf to have ſaved him. But not being
" able to perſuade him to put in practice
" the only means of maintaining his power,
" I did not think myſelf obliged to con-
" tinue with a man who would be his own
" ruin, and with whom my life was in dan-
" ger, after the counſel I had given him
" againſt Cleopatra. I therefore come to
" offer you my friendſhip, which Antony
" has refuſed, aſſuring you I will have the
" ſame fidelity in your regard that I had for
" him, and would have preſerved all my
" life, if he would but have thought of
" his own glory and preſervation."

Cæſar took this frankneſs in Herod well, aſſured him of his benevolence, and afterwards

wards gave him marks of it. He would have him resume his diadem, and made be confirmed to him by the senate the kingdom of Judea, which he increased afterwards with the states of Zenodorus [k]. Herod, on his side, shewed his gratitude for the affection and kindness of Cæsar, by a constant friendship and royal magnificence [l]; for he built a city on the borders of Phænicia, which he called Cæsarea, which continued for many ages one of the most considerable ones in Asia.

But it is time for us to return to Antony. He had not chosen since his return from Libya to make his abode at Alexandria; and to enjoy at liberty the conversation of Lucilius and Aristocrates, he had retired with them, to a country seat which he had ordered to be built upon the borders of the Nile, near the famous Pharos of Alexandria. In this agreable solitute he seemed to listen with pleasure to the discourses of those two philosophers, who taught him to despise the glare of fortune, and place his happiness in virtue. Their lessons were not useless in a succession of oppressive missfortunes which rolled like so many thunder claps on all sides. But after all, they could never pull from his heart the love of Cleopatra, the fatal unaccountable cause of all his missfortunes; and this passion which they had but been able to suspend was

[k] *Dion*, [l] *Dion*, *Appian*, *Plutarch*.

not

not long before it returned with its first violence.

He was recalled to Alexandria by the flatteries of this Queen, and he hasted thither notwithstanding the remonstrances of those philosophers, and all the solemn promises that he made them of never returning. He no sooner saw himself in the presence of Cleopatra than forgetting all their lessons he entirely bent his thoughts to satisfy to the full the vanity of this princess, and he had so much effeminacy and complaisance for her, that he sent second deputies to Cæsar to beg his own life upon conditions so shameful, that he offered to pass it at Athens as a common, private person, provided Cæsar would affirm the kingdom of Egypt to Cleopatra and her children, this second deputation being no more favourably received by Cæsar than the former, Antony sought for that comfort in debauchery which he ought to have drawn from his own magnanimity and courage. And Cleopatra, who had a mind to hide her intrigues with Cæsar, and besides could not bear life without pleasure, was glad to see him replunged into all his former excesses, furnishing him daily with new incentives to voluptuousness and passion. They regaled one another in turn, and made with emulation splendid public entertainments, to which they invited the Patricians and Roman knights, with the foreign kings and princes that were come to Alexandria.

There never was ſeen a greater expence and luxury. Antony and Cleopatra diſtributed ſo much gold and ſilver at theſe pompous entertainments, that many who came there poor, returned rich for their whole life afterwards.

It was in one of theſe proud feaſts, that Cleopatra having taken one of the pearls, which was a pendant at her ear, and of an ineſtimable value, ſhe cauſed it to be diſſolved in vinegar, and drank it off. She was going to melt down the other to make a draught for Antony, but he refuſed it, out of the confuſion he was in to ſee expended in the madneſs of debauchery the moſt precious things. This pearl was afterwards conſecrated to Venus by Cæſar, who made it be carried to the temple of that goddeſs at Rome, after the victory of Alexandria, and was valued at eight hundred thouſand crowns [m].

They ſtiled this infamous kind of life the tomb of lovers [n], united both in life and death; and they abandoned themſelves to theſe enormous exceſſes, till they were put a ſtop to by the approach of Cæſar.

We left him at Actium, where he was reaping the fruit of his victory [o]. It not only gained him all Epire, but Libya likewiſe, whither the news was carried to thoſe

[m] *Pliny.* [n] *Appian.* [o] *Dion, Appian, Plutarch.*

legions

legions which Antony had in those provinces. Cæsar sent Agrippa to Rome, with a relation of his happy success; and, for himself, he passed into the islands of the lesser Asia, to take a recognizance of his own power. It was in this voyage that he pardoned Metellus, who had shewed himself one of his greatest enemies. Being come to Samos he went to see the prisoners, whom he had ordered to be conducted thither after the battle of Actium; and calling over the list, he made them appear before him, in the order they were called: Metellus being therefore summoned in his turn, they saw appear a venerable old man, who had let his beard and hair grow, and who could not be distinguished by reason of his pale countenance. This was a Roman senator, who had been set down amongst the number of the proscribed, at the beginning of the triumvirate; and after the quarrels had happened betwixt Cæsar and Antony, he attached himself to the party of the latter, whom all the promises of Cæsar could not make him abandon; but his son was in the opposite party, and accompanied at that very time Cæsar. He no sooner knew again his father, but he ran to embrace him; and turning towards Cæsar, he said to him, "This is your enemy, but he is likewise "my father. I ask his pardon of you, as "a recompence of my services; or, if you "do not judge me worthy, I offer myself

"to death for him." Cæſar replied, "that "he pardoned for the ſon's ſervices the juſt "reſentment he might have againſt the fa-"ther."

In the mean time Agrippa having informed Cæſar that his preſence was neceſſary at Rome, where they were jealous of his victory, he returned thither immediately [p]. As he had no leſs agreableneſs in his converſation than policy, he ſoon appeaſed the murmurs which his enemies had exacted, and quieted the people and ſenate, and diſſipated thoſe ſuſpicions they infuſed into them of his power, which began to have no other bounds but thoſe of his moderation [q]. But he ſtaid no longer than a month at Rome [r], and knowing of what importance it was not to leave a victory incompleat [s]; he departed, notwithſtanding the winter, and being embarked paſſed into Greece, from whence he paſſed in the beginning of ſpring into Syria. He had given orders to his army to embark themſelves in the ports of Afric, and come to Peluſium. This city was placed at the moſt eaſtern part of the mouth of the Nile, near that place where at preſent is Damieta. Cæſar, who came from the coaſt of Syria, preſenting himſelf before the place, was joined a little while after by the fleet,

[p] *Dion, Appian, Plutarch.* [q] *Suetonius.* [r] *Year* 724. [s] *Dion, Appian, Plutarch, Suetonius.*

which

which came from Afric. He therefore ſent to ſummon the governor to open the gates; and Seleucus, who commanded for Cleopatra, having, as they ſaid, received private orders, delivered up the city, without ſuffering a ſiege; from whence Cæſar marched directly for Alexandria, which is at the weſtern mouth of the ſaid river, and beſieged it.

He hoped to make himſelf ſoon maſter of it, by means of thoſe intelligences which he carried clandeſtinely on with Cleopatra, and on which he reckoned no leſs than on his army. But Antony, being ignorant of the intrigues of this princeſs, and not willing to believe what they told him, prepared himſelf for a vigorous defence. He made a ſally at the head of a body of horſe, two days after Cæſar had pitched his camp, cut to pieces all that he met in his paſſage, ruined the beſiegers batteries, and the cavalry coming up to the ſuccour of the foot, he repulſed them to the very gates of the camp, and returned victorious to Alexandria. But this was the laſt ſtruggle of an expiring valour, which exhauſted itſelf in this exploit, and he had no more ſtrength for action, or ſenſe of glory. For, inſtead of making his advantage of this ſucceſs, and thinking ſeriouſly of a vigorous defence by manfully obſerving and reſenting the actions of Cleopatra, who betrayed him, he came like a romantic hero, armed cap-a-pee, to throw

himſelf at her feet, and kiſs her beautiful hands. One heard, after this, all the palace of Alexandria echo with acclamations, as if the ſiege had been actually raiſed; and Cleopatra, who ſought for nothing but to amuſe Antony, ordered a magnificent repaſt to be prepared, and placing herſelf at table with him, they paſſed the remainder of that day and the whole night in an exceſs of luxury. Antony having obſerved amongſt the officers, who were in the hall, a gentleman who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the battle, he called to him, and would have him ſit down by him. Cleopatra, who deſigned to make him her creature, made him a preſent of a rich helmet and cuiraſs of gold, adorned with excellent workmanſhip, and ſent him the ſame night to Cæſar, to give him advice of what ſhe deſigned to do the following day; having reſolved to deliver up her fleet, and Antony himſelf, if ſhe could make him fall into the ſnare. To execute this deſign, ſhe pretended to wiſh that her fleet, upon which ſhe had put on board none but Alexandrians and Phœnicians, might have a trial of manhood with the enemy; and ſhe made Antony conſent to it, who had no longer any inclinations but thoſe ſhe inſpired him with. She therefore made her veſſels go out of the harbour drawn up in the order of battle, while Antony followed them along the ſhore, at the head of a ſquadron, that he might obſerve the countenance of the enemy. But

he

he was thunder ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, when he ſaw Cleopatra's admiral lower his flag when he came up with Cæſar, and deliver to him his fleet [t]. This bare-faced treaſon opened Antony's eyes, and made him believe with rage, but too late, what his friends had told him of, the perfidiouſneſs of the queen. In this extremity he ſtill remembered his courage, and ſent to defy Cæſar at a ſingle combat; but Cæſar ſent back for anſwer, that if Antony was weary of living, he had many other means of dieing than by his hand. Antony, thus ſeeing himſelf made a jeſt of by Cæſar, and betrayed in the moſt infamous manner by Cleopatra, entered the city, and ſaw himſelf at his entrance ſtill moſt afflictingly deſerted by all his horſe. It was upon this, that full of rage, frenzy and deſpair, he ran to the palace with a deſign of being revenged on Cleopatra; but he found her not there.

This artful princeſs, who had foreſeen what would happen, having a mind to withdraw from his juſt fury, had retired into that quarter of the town where the tombs of the Egyptian kings were, it was fortified with ſtrong walls, and ſhe had ordered all the gates to be ſhut. She had made her gold, ſilver and precious ſtones, with other rich moveables, to be brought her; and a quantity of perfumes, and aromatic

[t] *Appian, Plutarch.*

ſpices,

ſpices, as if ſhe had deſigned to make a funeral pile, upon which ſhe would conſume herſelf with all her riches. She therefore ordered it to be told Antony, that preferring an honourable death before a ſhameful captivity, ſhe had put an end to her life amongſt the tombs of her anceſtors, where ſhe had likewiſe choſen her own ſepulchre. Antony, being too credulous, did not give himſelf leiſure to examine what ought to have been ſuſpected by him, after all thoſe fallacies of Cleopatra; and being ſtruck with a ſtrong idea of her death, he paſſed on a ſudden from the extremity of anger to the tranſports of the moſt lively grief, and reſolved to follow her to the grave. Having taken this deſperate reſolution he ſhut himſelf up in his chamber with his ſlave, and ordering his breaſt-plate to be pulled off, he commanded him to run a dagger into his breaſt; but this ſlave, ſnatching one up, pierced himſelf, and fell at his feet. Antony admired his courage, and after having given him all the praiſes he deſerved, he plunged the ſword into his own body, and fell upon the floor, in a river of his own blood, which he mixed with that of his ſlave. There came at the ſame time an officer of the queen's guards [u], to tell him, ſhe was living; whether Cleopatra had repented out of a motion of love, or compaſſion for having ſent him falſe news,

[u] *Appian, Plutarch.*

of

of which ſhe dreaded the tragical conſequence; or whether it was, that reflecting ſhe was going to fall into the hands of Cæſar, ſhe began to regret Antony, not placing an entire confidence in the promiſes of Cæſar, for being general they were not capable of aſſuring her. Whatever was the fact, Antony no ſooner heard the name of Cleopatra, but he recovered from his ſtupifaction, and hearing ſhe was alive, he ſuffered his wounds to be dreſſed, and afterwards ordered himſelf to be carried to the fortreſs, where ſhe had ſhut herſelf up. She could not ſee Antony all bathed with his blood, with death painted upon his face, holding out his arms and begging her to receive his laſt breath, but ſhe was filled with that tenderneſs that ſhe could not refrain from the moſt lamentable cries. Yet ſhe would not permit them to open the gates for fear of a ſurprize; and it was neceſſary that he ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be drawn up to a window, with ropes which they flung down, and the queen with her women drew up again. Having thus gained the window he was hauled into the chamber, when he ſcarce gave any ſigns of life. They carried him to a bed, where the queen embraced him, wiping off with her handkerchief the blood which disfigured his countenance, waſhing it with her tears, and calling him her dear prince, her lord, and her beſt of husbands. In this agony of exclamation ſhe cut off his hair,

hair, according to the superstition of the Pagans, who thought they thus comforted those who died of a tragical death [x]. Thus Cleopatra, like a true woman without reflection, who had felt no horror in offering Antony's life to preserve herself in her own kingdom, could not see him weltering in his gore for her sake, without being extraordinarily moved [y]. Antony having at length recovered his senses, and seeing the affliction of Cleopatra, said to comfort her, that he died happy, because he died betwixt her arms; and, as for the rest, he did not blush at his defeat, because it was no shame for a Roman to be overcome by a Roman. He afterwards exhorted her to save her life and her kingdom, provided she could do it with honor; but to have a care not to trust the traitors of her own court, as well as those Romans who followed Cæsar, putting trust himself in none but Proculeius. He died in pronouncing these words; and at the same time Proculeius arrived, who came to see the issue of so tragical an adventure. Having observed in the chamber of Cleopatra, without her taking notice in the excess of her grief, the sword of Antony, all scarlet with his blood, he carried it to Cæsar, telling him how the whole affair happened. At the narration of so surprising an event,

[x] *See Virgil's Eneid, end of the fourth book.*
[y] *Dion, Appian, Plutarch.*

and

and a ſword ſtill red with the blood of Antony, Cæſar could ſcarce refrain his tears, before thoſe who were preſent at the diſcourſe, and when Proculeius had done ſpeaking, he entered into his cloſet, where having no witneſſes of his actions, he gave free way to his own reflections and pity. He ſhewed upon this occaſion his natural inclination to generoſity, and that he had not made war againſt Antony, but out of a motive of glory and ambition, which great men have a difficulty to preſerve themſelves from, not out of a motion of hatred and cruelty, which none but little minds ſuffer themſelves to be carried away by. For forgetting all the injuries he had received from him, he lamented his death, and while he wept often called him brother, collegue, and companion of his victories. A ſtrange diſorder this of the human mind, that men ſhould perſecute thoſe very perſons living whom they lament after they are dead. Thus died Antony, aged fifty-five years, the greateſt part of which he had paſſed in the reputation of being one of the greateſt generals amongſt the Romans, till falling blindly in love with Cleopatra, he ſuffered his courage to be abated by the voluptuouſneſs of her court, and after having loſt almoſt childiſhly all the glory he had acquired, he loſt at length his life, by an effeminate and ſhameful deſpair. Worthy for his valor to have divided the empire of the world with Cæſar, if he had not made himſelf

ſelf unworthy by his exceſſive intemperance.

Cæſar being thus freed from Antony, turned his thoughts to manage Cleopatra [z], whom he had an ardent deſire to carry with him in triumph to Rome. But apprehending ſhe might prevent this ſhame by her death, and deſtroy herſelf with all the treaſures which ſhe had ordered to be carried into the fortreſs, whither ſhe had retired, he ſent to her Proculeus to aſſure her ſhe had no real cauſe of fear from him, that he would take proper care both of her and her children. He prepared after this to make his entrance into Alexandria, of which no one now durſt diſpute with him the conqueſt. He found the gates open, and all the inhabitants in extreme conſternation, not knowing particularly what they were to hope for or fear. Being come to the palace, he placed himſelf upon a tribunal, and ſeeing this barbarous people proſtrate upon the earth, he bid them riſe again. Afterwards he told them, that he pardoned them for three reaſons; the firſt upon account of Alexander their founder, the ſecond, upon account of the beauty of the city, and the third upon account of Arius one of their citizens, whoſe merit, learning and genius he had a great eſteem of. In effect, he ſhewed him ſo much honor, that he would have him walk by his ſide thorough

[z] *Dion, Appian, Plutarch.*

the

the ſtreets of Alexandria, and take his place at his right hand. Such an eſteem had he for men of learning, who are the true heralds of demi-gods and heroes, and conſecrate their fame and glory to immortality.

In the mean time Proculeius acquitted himſelf of his commiſſion, which he had to the queen, who at firſt asked nothing of Cæſar but the permiſſion to bury Antony. Several kings of Aſia who had been obliged to him for their kingdoms, or had received from him great benefits, being at that time in Alexandria, wiſhed to be at the expences of his funeral, but Cleopatra was preferred, and Antony received from her hand the honor of burial, as he had wiſhed by his laſt will and teſtament. She ſpared nothing to make it magnificent, according to the cuſtom of the Egyptians; who are no leſs ſumptuous in their funeral ceremonies, than all their other ſolemnities. She ordered therefore his body to be embalmned with the moſt exquiſite perfumes of the whole eaſt, and raiſed for him a ſuperb mauſoleum, amongſt the tombs of the kings of Egypt.

Cæſar did not think it proper to viſit Cleopatra in the firſt days of her mourning, but when he thought he might do it with decency, he ordered himſelf to be introduced into her chamber, after having firſt asked her permiſſion, deſigning by that complaiſance to conceal his real deſign. She wiſhed for this interview with more impatience than Cæſar,

but

but their intentions in it were very different. Cleopatra, who had maintained herſelf in the kingdom of Egypt by the love ſhe ſhewed Julius Cæſar, and afterwards Antony, not deſpairing ſtill to enflame the heart of Octavius, deſired eagerly to ſee him; and Cæſar, who deſigned to deceive her by civilities and politeneſs, was very glad to pay her a viſit. She received him in her chamber, full of the pictures of Julius Cæſar; there was likewiſe one upon her couch, where ſhe was laid upon black embroidery in a languiſhing poſture, from which ſhe haſtily roſe up upon Cæſar's entrance, with a deſign to throw herſelf at his feet; but he would not permit it, and having obliged her to replace herſelf, he ſat down by her. The artful negligence of her dreſs, which was nothing but a bed-gown to ſhew her ſorrow and change of fortune, did not make her loſe any thing of her beauty, which, amidſt this obſcurity and melancholy, appeared only more bright and affecting. She would have been very glad that Cæſar had been touched with it, and to engage him by a ſenſible proof: my lord, ſaid ſhe, after ſhe had taken her place, and ſhewing him the portraits of Julius Cæſar, theſe are the images of him who adopted you to ſucceed him in the Roman empire, and to whom I am indebted for my crown. Then taking from her boſom thoſe letters ſhe had concealed, ſee here, ſaid ſhe, and kiſſing them, the dear pledges of

his

his love. She after this read ſome of the tendereſt, accompanying her reading with the moſt inſinuating words, and paſſionate amorous looks; but ſhe employed to no purpoſe all her artifices, and whether her charms had no longer the enchantment they had in her youth, or ambition was the really predominant paſſion of Cæſar, he appeared neither moved by her ſight or converſation; contenting himſelf with exhorting her to take courage, and aſſuring her of his good intentions. She perceived his diſſembled coldneſs, from which ſhe drew a bad augury; but diſſembling her grief and changing the diſcourſe, ſhe thanked him for the compliments Proculeius had made her upon his account, and which he had done her the honor to renew himſelf. She added that out of gratitude ſhe would put into his hands, all the treaſures of the kings of Egypt, asking of him only the permiſſion to except ſome Jewels which ſhe would make a preſent of to Livia and Octavia.

This converſation was a little troubled by an adventure that had ſomething very ſingular in it; for in that moment when Cleopatra was going to transfer to Cæſar all the treaſures of the crown, with a particular memoir of all the different kinds he was to expect, one of the treaſurers of the queen called Seleucus, entered the chamber, and ſaid to Cæſar, that Cleopatra deceived him, with a falſe inventory, having ſecreted her moſt precious

cious jewels. Cleopatra could not ſuffer the indignity of ſuch an accuſation from one of her ſlaves, and without being withheld by the preſence of Cæſar, or conſideration of her own dignity, flung herſelf upon Seleucus, and gave him ſeveral blows on the face. Cæſar found ſomething ſo pleaſant and comical in this extravagance, that he could not hold from laughing; and Cleopatra, who was thrown into confuſion by it, was forced with bluſhes to make her excuſe. After new compliments on one ſide and the other they ſeperated, Cæſar believing he had deceived Cleopatra, but he was deceived himſelf.

This queen, voluptuous as ſhe was, did not fail of having a grandeur of courage equal to her birth, preferring death to the ſhame of being proudly led a captive to Rome, and having obſerved Cæſar deſigned to make her the ornament of his triumph, ſhe determined on death to avoid that infamy. She knew very well ſhe was watched by thoſe guards they had given her, who under pretence of doing her honor followed her every where, and that the time preſſed her, becauſe the day drew near that was fixed for Cæſar's departure. To deceive him the more thoroughly ſhe ſent to deſire of him that ſhe might go and pay her laſt duties at the tomb of Antony, and take leave of him. Cæſar having granted her this permiſſion, ſhe went thither in reality, but it was to bathe his tomb with her tears, and

and aſſure him ſhe ſhould ſoon give him a more certain proof of her love.

After having pronounced theſe melancholy words, which ſhe accompanied with tears and ſighs, ſhe made the tomb be ſtrewed with flowers, and returned to her chamber, where to die, as ſhe had always lived, ſhe put herſelf in a bath, and from the bath went to table, where ſhe had ordered a delicious repaſt to be ſerved up to her. At riſing from table, ſhe writ a letter to Cæſar, and having placed herſelf upon a magnificent bed of gold tiſſue, ſhe called for a baſket where there were ſome figs, which a peaſant had brought her; ſhe placed it cloſe to her, and a moment after ſhe laid upon the bed as if ſhe had been aſleep. But the reaſon was, the aſp which had been hid amongſt the fruit, having bit her in the arm, which ſhe held out to it, its poiſon immediately gained the heart, and killed her without pain, or any one perceiving it. The guards had orders to let nothing paſs unexamined; but this peaſant in diſguiſe, who was a faithful ſervant to the queen, ſo artfully played his part, and there was ſo little appearance of deceit in a ſmall baſket of fruit, that the guards let him paſs, ſo that all the poſſible vigilance and care of Cæſar were to no purpoſe.

He did not doubt of Cleopatra's reſolution after he had read the letter ſhe had writ to him to deſire that her body might be buried with that of Antony, in the ſame tomb; and he

he ſent two officers immediately to prevent it. But tho' they made all poſſible haſte they found her dead. They only ſaw in entering her chamber one of her women who was adjuſting her diadem, as ſhe had ordered, and another at her feet who was fetching her laſt breath. Aſtoniſhed at ſo ſtrange a ſpectacle, they asked of her who was dreſſing the queen, if ſhe had done a generous action. Yes certainly replied the woman with a grandeur of courage, which could not well have been expected in ſo effeminate a court: yes, added ſhe, it is an action worthy of a queen, who dared thus by a generous death to free herſelf from the inſults and pride of the Romans, as well as the unmanly triumph of Cæſar, who ſhall never now have the haughty pleaſure of ſeeing bound to his chariot, the heireſs of ſo many kings. In finiſhing theſe words ſhe fell herſelf dead at the feet of her miſtreſs.

Cleopatra died at the age of thirty eight, [a]of which number ſhe had reigned ſeventeen with great reputation and glory. She was one of the moſt beautiful and moſt gallant princeſſes in the world. She ſhewed by all the actions of her life that ſhe had a great ambition, and her death ſhewed ſhe did not in extremity want courage. But ſhe was particularly famous for the charms of her beauty, and the agreeableneſs of her wit. Julius

[a] *Dion, Plutarch.*

Cæſar

Cæſar was the firſt who felt the effects of their power; and he had great difficulty with all his magnanimity to free himſelf. He had a ſon by her called Cæſarion, and he rewarded the favours of this princeſs with the kingdom of Egypt after the death of her brother Ptolemy, inſtead of reducing it to a province, and uniting it to the empire. She afterwards let Antony ſhare her affections; and tho' ſhe was paſt the bloom of her youth, ſhe made herſelf an abſolute miſtreſs of his heart. She pretended to the conqueſt of that of Octavius Cæſar; and not ſucceeding by his counterpoiſe of ambition, ſhe ſought for in her reſolution that relief, which ſhe could no longer find from her beauty.

Cæſar was ſorry that the death of this queen had deprived him of the moſt glorious pomp of his triumph; but he admired how ſo voluptuous a princeſs, had been capable of ſuch a reſolution. He not only granted her the favour which ſhe had demanded, of being buried with Antony, he would likewiſe be at the expence of her funeral, leaving only to the Egyptians the care of ordering all things according to the cuſtom of their country, with a magnificence ſuitable to ſo great a princeſs. He honoured likewiſe the fidelity of thoſe two women who had choſen to die with her, and erected to them a rich tomb, near that of their miſtreſs. He likewiſe took care of her ſtatues, and forbad his ſoldiers to pull them down. It is ſaid

tho', that one of the favourites of this queen had bought off their demolition by no less than six hundred thousand crowns: a rare example this, if true, of love and gratitude. Whilst Cæsar preserved the statues of Cleopatra, he destroyed those of Antony. There seems a difficulty of comprehending the reason of so different a procedure; for one cannot suppose, after he had replaced the statues of Pompey and Brutus, as he did in several places, he could take a pleasure in destroying those of Antony, with whom he had had a stricter union than with any other heads of parties, and at his death shed those tears which could not be suspected of insincerity. There is therefore great appearance that he acted in this manner, not to leave so many evident monuments of Antony's love for Cleopatra; esteeming it injurious to his own family, and shameful for Antony himself.

He did not shew the same treatment to all the children of Antony, nor to those of Cleopatra. He put the eldest of Antony's children, which he had by Fulvia, to death; tho' he had been espoused to Julia in the treaty concluded betwixt Cæsar and Antony, at Tarentum; and he gave, on the contrary, to his younger called Julius, a part of his father's estate; whether it was upon account of the name he bore, or because he found in him inclinations less dangerous than in the elder brother. Before Cleopatra killed herself

herſelf, ſhe endeavoured to ſave Cæſarion; whom ſhe truſted to Rhodon, one of her domeſtics, that he might conduct him to the king of Ethiopia; but this perfidious perſon brought him back to Cæſar, who put him to death, upon an expreſſion that Arius uſed; for having conſulted this aſtronomer about the deſtiny of the young prince, Arius perhaps politically anſwered him, "that a plurality of Cæſars was not "good." But he ſpared Alexander and Ptolemy, whom Cleopatra had had by Antony; and agreed they ſhould be betrothed to two daughters which Antony had had by Octavia; reſtoring them in favour of this marriage the goods of their father, which had been confiſcated. The youth of theſe parties hindered the conſummation of the marriage; and the two daughters of Octavia eſpouſed afterwards, one of them Domitius, and the other Druſus, ſons of Livia. In the mean time, it is evident, the Romans by theſe eſpouſals pretended that the marriage betwixt Antony and Cleopatra, was perfectly void, and of no force; otherwiſe they would never have approved, that two brothers ſhould have married two ſiſters, they who were ſo ſhocked afterwards at the marriage of the emperor Claudius with Agrippina his niece; unleſs we pleaſe to ſay, conſidering the birth of thoſe princes, they had more regard to the cuſtoms of the Egyptians, which authorized theſe marriages, than to the

laws of the Romans which forbad them [b]. Cæſar married likewiſe the young Cleopatra with the prince Juba, ſon of the king of Mauritania; to whom he confirmed, in conſideration of this marriage, the poſſeſſion of the kingdom of his father, and added to it ſeveral new ſtates.

We muſt not go out of Alexandria, without accompanying Cæſar to the tomb of Alexander the great [c], which was built in the middle of the city, where the body of this illuſtrious conqueror reſted in a coffin of gold. After he had approached it with reſpect, he covered it with flowers, and placed upon it a crown of gold, to teſtify the homage he paid to his virtue. Alexander himſelf had paid a veneration of the like nature, to the aſhes of Cyrus. It is ſaid, that Alexander's ſepulchre ſubſiſts at this day, in the ruins of Alexandria, excluſive of the coffin of gold which the avarice of mankind has taken away [d]; as if time, which conſumes all things, had reſpected the duſt of this hero. But the Turcs, whoſe groſs barbarity confounds times and perſons, have made of it the ſepulchre of a ſaint, who lived, they ſay, in the firſt ages of the world; and they go in pilgrimage to it with a deal of grimace and blind devotion. As Cæſar was viſiting the tomb of Alexander, the Egyptians who had

[b] *Dion.* [c] *Dion, Plutarch, Suetonius.* [d] *Suetonius.*

accompanied

accompanied him, asked him if he did not wish to see the tombs of the Ptolemys; but he answered them, that he desired to see a king, and not the dead. Shewing by this, it was to the merit of Alexander he paid honor, and not to his crown or royalty. Others being desirous of carrying him to the temple of Apis, he told them he worshipped gods, not cattle [e].

At this time, when death took from the scene of this world the most polite and gallant princess that ever was, it deprived Rome of one of the most agreeable wits in that age. This was the celebrated Catullus, whose poetry is at this day the delight of those who love a soft amorous kind of writing.

But we are not to forget the famous monuments of the victories at Actium and Alexandria [f]: the first was the city of Nicopolis [g], which Cæsar ordered to be built opposite to Actium, under the side of the streight, which preserves to this day in what remains of it, the glory of its founder, and the remembrance of his victory. The other is that honor which those of Actium and Alexandria paid to Cæsar, who began to reckon their years from the month of September, in memory of the naval victory gained over Antony the second day of that

[e] *The god Apis was represented under the figure of an ox.* [f] *Dion.* [g] *That is the city of victory.*

month: a monument which preſerved ſo long in Alexandria, that this epoch was ſtill obſerved in the times of the Chriſtian emperors who reigned in the eaſt [h]; as it appears by the ancient canons of the Chriſtian Eaſter, in the churches of this patriarchſhip.

After all, the victories of Actium and Alexandria were more conſiderable by the conſequences they had, than by the actions that were done in them; and the policy of Cæſar had a greater ſhare than his valour. He ſaw for five years the great preparations of Antony, without ſurprize; becauſe he knew that his heart, being corrupted by love and debauchery, would never let him make a right uſe of his fleets and army; but he knew how to terrify the ſenate with this pretended enormous power; and making them fear leſt Antony ſhould transfer the empire to Alexandria, he hindered them from ſeeing that he would uſurp it himſelf in Rome, after Antony's defeat, who was the only competitor that was left him. He aggravated the pride of Cleopatra, as if it had been dangerous to the republic; and found in the vanities of Antony, tho' they were more ridiculous than criminal, ſubjects of complaint and calumniation, both to the people and ſenate. He made uſe of Octavia's virtue to render him more odious, becauſe he treated her ill; and, to finiſh his

[h] *Suetonius.*

deſtruction,

deſtruction, he produced a will, true or falſe, which made him be declared enemy of the republic. He bribed his principal captains, and kept up a correſpondence with Cleopatra herſelf, who delivered up too womaniſhly the kingdom of Egypt, which Antony might have defended if he had not been thus betrayed on all ſides. Yet the courage of Cæſar did not fail of appearing on theſe occaſions; and it was a bold ſtroke in him, to come with two hundred and fifty ſail, and beſiege in the gulf of Ambracia his enemies, who filled it with five hundred ſhips greater than his, and more numerous forces. But the valour and experience of Agrippa, contributed greatly to make him gain the victory. Cæſar practiſed in this war, more than in any other, his maxim of haſting ſlowly, letting Antony make all the firſt motions; and he was not ſeen acting, but when his enemies had put themſelves to ſea with a numerous fleet. But he ſhewed as much diligence in the execution, as he had ſhewed prudence and ſlowneſs in his deliberations. His fleet was as ſoon ready as that of Antony, who ſaw himſelf beſieged in the gulf, where he had caſt anchor. The war of Alexandria followed cloſe upon that of Actium. Cæſar ſcarce waited the end of winter to paſs over into Egypt, and he ended in leſs than a year thoſe two great wars, in which he finiſhed the enſlaving the republic, under pretence of defending it.

THE LIFE OF AUGUSTUS.

PART II.

BOOK II.

CÆSAR, before he returned to Rome, made ſome ſtay at Alexandria [1], to eſtabliſh his authority in the kingdom of Egypt, of which this famous city is the capital. He would likewiſe repair the diſorders cauſed by the Nile, becauſe they had not taken care

[1] *Dion, Suetonius.*

of

of the channels; and this work was ſo important as to deſerve his preſence and particular attention. He therefore ordered the dykes to be raiſed, and the ditches cleaned, to give a free courſe to this river; and that declivity which is neceſſary to moiſten the large plains of this kingdom, which would elſe be burnt up by the heat of the ſun, without this extraordinary ſuccour, which ſupplies the defect of rain, that falls there ſeldom, and never in ſuch abundance as to water the lands. But this miraculous inundation never fails of being made in ſuch abundance, that it covers all the fields, and leaves upon them that freſhneſs and manure, which is neceſſary to render them fertile. They ſay, the defect of this inundation, not only cauſes ſterility all over Egypt, but is likewiſe a preſage of ſome great misfortune; and they obſerve, that the waters had mounted a very little that year, in which Pompey was aſſaſſinated by the orders of Ptolemy, to whom he had retired after the fatal battle of Pharſalia; and that they had not aſcended at all that year, when Antony and Cleopatra died. This is, without doubt, a ſuperſtition; but it is certain, theſe lands can produce nothing, unleſs they are watered by the Nile. This is what obliged Cæſar, who knew the true cauſe that hindered this river from overflowing according to cuſtom, to remedy this diſorder. He employed his ſoldiers in ſo uſeful a work, which he did not undertake out of a ſpirit

of vanity, but a consideration for the public welfare. He made likewise serious reflections upon the government of so rich and trading a kingdom, which might by the neighbourhood which the Mediterranean sea gives it with Italy, bring to it great felicity, or be the cause of great distress and calamity. These considerations persuaded him to trust the administration of it, rather to a Roman knight than a senator, whose credit and alliances would have been suspected by him in so dangerous a post. For this reason he chose Cornelius Gallus, who scarce had the dignity of Roman knighthood; and made afterwards a solemn decree, which not only excluded patricians from this government, but forbad them likewise the entrance upon it. A decree which lasted to the time of the emperor Severus.

After having re-established the course of the Nile [k], and left necessary orders for the government of Egypt, he departed to go into Greece, where he stayed some months; and went afterwards to Rome, to receive those honors which the senate had decreed him. They ordered by their decree, that all the city should go out to meet him, men, women and children, without exception; and even the vestals themselves, who had orders to march in this procession, singing hymns to his honor. The decree specified, that

[k] *Dion.*

they

they ſhould ſing likewiſe theſe hymns in the temples, immediately after thoſe which they ſung in honor of the gods. They vowed likewiſe publick games from five years to five years, to renew the memory of the victories of Actium and Alexandria. They added, that the prows of thoſe ſhips, which had been taken in the battle, ſhould be fixed together in the Roman forum, where was the court of public juſtice; and they erected a trophy of the enemies ſpoils, with this inſcription, "This is an eternal monu-
" ment of the ſenate's and Roman people's
" gratitude, who have erected this trophy
" to Cæſar, emperor and perpetual tribune,
" having by his victories given peace to
" ſea and land, and eſtabliſhed the Roman
" empire from the pillars of Hercules as far
" as the Euphrates." But this trophy was not erected till ſome years after the victory of Alexandria, as it appears by the title of perpetual tribune, which was not given to Cæſar till the ſeven hundred and thirty-firſt year after the foundation of Rome. In a word, they ordered, that the day of his birth, thoſe of his victories at Actium and Alexandria, with that of his entrance into Rome, ſhould be ſolemnized by public proceſſions, libations, and religious performances of ſacrifice. Cæſar, having ſeen the decree of the ſenate, cut off or moderated thoſe articles, which ſeemed to him exceſſive; not chuſing the veſtals ſhould leave the care

of religion, to honor his triumph. And giving the people their full liberty of meeting him, or not, without forcing any one: a moderation worthy of those honors he refused.

He made his triumphant entry in the year seven hundred and twenty-five from the building of Rome, being consul for the fourth time, and triumphed three days successively [1]; the first day over the Pannonians, the Dalmatæ, the Japides, with the nations of Gaul, and the neighbouring ones of Germany; the second day as victor at Actium; and the third as conqueror of Alexandria.

This last triumph surpassed the two others in magnificence, and was also more agreeable to the people, who took pleasure in seeing the representation of Cleopatra, laid upon a couch of state, where she was applying the asp to her arm. Art having so well imitated nature, that it seemed as if it were herself, and not her picture. One saw at her side the young Alexander and young Cleopatra her children, with the proud names of Sun and Moon, which that ambitious queen made them be called by in her court. They were dressed in magnificent habits, corresponding with those proud titles, and all covered with diamonds. The triumphant chariot came after, shining

[1] *Dion, Plutarch, Suetonius.*

with

with gold and precious ſtones, where the People ſaw Cæſar in his victorius robe of the richeſt Tyrian purple [m] with an embroidery of gold. He was in the flower of his youth, not being quite thirty four years old, and his majeſtic mein gave an additional luſtre to all the triumph. The people who pleaſed themſelves with making compariſons of the paſt with the preſent, remembred how Pompey at the age of thirty five years had triumphed over the whole earth, viz. Aſia, Afric and Europe [n], cauſing to be carried before him fourteen hundred millions of livres in ſilver, and leading with him three hundred princes and captive kings, who preceded his chariot. But they remembred at the ſame time, that this pomp was ſoon followed by the horrors of a civil war, of which they ſaw all the moſt hidden ſeeds now extinguiſhed by Cæſar's victories; for all the heads of factions were dead, and none remained but him, from whoſe moderation they hoped for a happy and peaceable government. Beſides, he brought no leſs riches into the ſtate than Pompey had done [o]; for after having cauſed four hundred ſeſterces a head to be diſtributed to the people, and more than five times the amount

[m] *There was white mixed with the purple of others.* [n] *Appian, Plutarch.* [o] *Dion, Plutarch, Suetonius.*

of

of that to his army, he ordered ſo much money to be carried to the public treaſury, that intereſt was reduced from ſix to two per cent. and the value of the funds was raiſed in proportion. He filled likewiſe the temples of Jupiter and Minerva, and the large ſquare of Rome, with the richeſt monuments of Egypt and Aſia, and cauſed to be put in the temple of Venus a ſtatue of Cleopatra of maſſy gold; ſo that this queen was honoured after her death by her very conquerors who placed her ſtatues even in their temples. There was in the temple of Venus, a chapel dedicated to Julius Cæſar, where was the image of Victory, round which Octavius Cæſar made be fixt the moſt illuſtrious ſpoils of Alexandria. It was thus he honoured the republic by his conqueſts; but what is ſtill worthy of greater admiration is, that of ſo many precious things, he kept nothing for himſelf but one veſſel of Porcelaine. Beſides, theſe magnificences were ſo much the more agreeable to the people, becauſe they not only coſt the public nothing, but that Cæſar likewiſe freed them from all arrears of taxes during the triumvirſhip, and diſcharged all the demands of their creditors.

The ſenate had ordered by its decree ſeveral other ceremonies, which had not been practiſed in former triumphs; but Cæſar would change nothing of the ancient cuſtom. He only deſired, that his collegue in

in the consulship [p] might be seated with him, and the other magistrates proceed confusedly with the senators, instead of their going before, according to the ancient custom. At the two doors of the chariot were Marcellus and Tiberius on horseback, the first at his right and the second at his left hand. They were very near of the same age entering upon their fourteenth year, but there was in Marcellus something far more noble than in the other; and the Romans who loved his family, and honoured the virtue of Octavia, looked upon him with pleasure, as being destined one day to succeed Cæsar. He was likewise brought up in the hope of so high a fortune, and Cæsar having no children by Livia, and none by Scribonia but a daughter, had adopted him, and of his nephew made him his son and heir, as he had been adopted by Julius Cæsar, to whom he succeeded. This grand festival was followed by games and spectacles of different kinds. The children of the Roman nobility having Marcellus at their head, celebrated the Trojan games, and had races in chariots of two or four horses, after the Grecian fashion, with tournaments of a very gallant nature, in which Marcellus surpassed all others by his dexterity, as well as his fine air.

[p] *Apuleius.*

Cæsar

Cæſar gave likewiſe ſeveral ſhews of gladiators, which he drew from thoſe priſoners which he had taken from thoſe barbarous nations which inhabit near the mouth of the Danube. He ſhewed the people likewiſe ſeveral extraordinary animals they had not ſeen before, amongſt the reſt a ſea horſe of an extraordinary ſize, and a rhinoceros, which has a horn upon the noſe from whence it takes its name, and with which it kills the elephant its enemy, by goreing him under the belly, the only place where he is vulnerable.

During ſeveral days that this feaſt laſted, all was nothing but dancing, ſport and feſtival; and Rome paſſing on a ſudden from the miſeries of a long calamitous civil war, to all the ſweetneſs and enjoyment of abſolute peace, could not ſufficiently pour out its joy, nor raiſe its acclamations high enough in praiſe of Cæſar [q]. But nothing was ſo agreeable to him as that eagerneſs with which he ſaw the people run to ſhut the temple of Janus, as a mark of univerſal unlimited peace: a thing ſo rare, that Rome never ſaw any thing like it, but twice, from its foundation.

That nothing might be wanting to the glory of Cæſar [r], Marcus Craſſus his lieutenant, whom he had ſent into Myſia, againſt thoſe people which inhabit betwixt mount

[q] *Dion.* [r] *Dion, Plutarch, Florus.*

Hemus

Hemus and the Danube, gained over those Barbarians such advantages, as were judged worthy of the honor of a triumph. This was therefore a fourth triumph for Cæsar; for such was the custom of the Romans, that they referred to their general all the honor of that success which the lieutenants had who fought under his auspices, that is to say, by the sacred orders which the general went to receive in the capitol, from the tutelary gods of the empire, as soon as he had been chosen by the emperor. This was the reason they decreed him a triumph, tho' it was his lieutenant who had defeated their enemies. But Cæsar divided the honor with Crassus, without communicating to him the title of emperor; a title too elevated for a lieutenant.

They say, that when Crassus entered upon the lands of these savages, they sent to him their deputies, to know what people they were, and what it was they brought with them; to which the Romans having answered, they were the lawful masters of the world, and came to subject them likewise to their empire. Stay, replied those people, conquer us before you assume that title, and prepare yourselves for a more hazardous war than you have dreamt of. They defended themselves bravely, and it was after many battles that Crassus made them submissive, and obliged them to ask peace. They relate an action, which passed in one of these battles,

battles, which has something of a fabulous air; but since history has related it as a prodigy, which caused the gaining of a battle [1], I have not thought fit to suppress it. It is said a centurion, called Domitius, had put some phosphorus upon the top of his helmet, which the agitation of his body had kindled; and the enemies perceiving at a distance this novelty, believed he was a dæmon who came to scatter fire and destruction about him. They were so frightened, that they betook themselves to their heels, and submitted at the discretion of the conqueror. 'Tis thus the greatest events often depend upon small causes, and if thoroughly examined, sometimes ridiculous ones.

During this time that Cæsar saw himself master of the empire, by the defeat and death of his enemies, the senate and people voluntarily submitting to servitude, he thought of restoring to the people and senate their liberty, and re-establishing the ancient government of the republic. Whether it is, that sovereignty has this in common with all the goods of fortune, that it soon disgusts when once possessed; or, that he feared in the time of peace that envy and hatred, which he had not apprehended in the tumult of war. Be this as it will, a little time after his triumphs, he sent for Agrippa and Mæcenas to his cabinet, and communicated to

[1] *Dion.*

them

them his design [t]. He could not chuſe two men more capable of giving him good counſel, upon a propoſition ſo important and delicate. We have already ſpoke of the merit of Agrippa, and we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of it ſtill in the thread of this hiſtory; in which we ſhall ſoon ſee him allied to Cæſar by affinity, as well as raiſed high in his favour; a great politician, as well as a great captain; and managing the glory of Cæſar with ſo much capacity, that he made it always agree with the public happineſs; a favourite without pride, a courtier without flattery, generous, diſintereſted, and a perſon of the ſtricteſt honor and integrity of the whole court.

Mæcenas was not a ſoldier like Agrippa, but he had no leſs talents for civil affairs. His favour was greater than his condition, being only a Roman knight, and yet poſſeſſing the firſt place in Cæſar's confidence. But his great qualities were not beneath his favour. He would not aſcend to dignities, tho' he ſaw none above him, and he confined himſelf to the mediocrity of his own birth. I do not mean that the quality of a Roman knight was not illuſtrious; for that of a common citizen of Rome was reſpected over the whole world; and, beſides, Mæcenas was deſcended of the ancient kings of Etruria, if we dare to believe Horace. But,

[t] *Dion.*

in

in fine, whatever his birth was, it was less considerable than his merit. He had a penetrating understanding to see into the bottom of things, a clear discernment always to take the right side, and an admirable facility in the expedition of affairs. He had a complaisance without bounds for Cæsar, unless he was to turn him from some design prejudicial to his glory and true interest. For he then took the liberty to contradict him, and make use of terms of a free nature. But Cæsar, who knew him, was never offended; and Mæcenas had so entirely gained him by his gentle and engaging manners, that he persuaded him to whatever he pleased; composing his mind, when he saw it fretted by the multiplicity of affairs, or domestic vexations, which he was not free from[n]; or by the ardor and heat of his temper, which was a little too revengeful.

It was to those two men, so wise and well-affected to him, that Cæsar chose to communicate the thought he had of renouncing the empire. After having made them sit down by him, Agrippa on the right and Mæcenas on the left, he said to them, "That after having revenged the death of "Julius Cæsar, and suppressed those factions "which tore out the bowels of the republic, he was resolved to divest himself of "supreme command, and think of his own

[n] *Suetonius.*

"happiness

"happineſs and eaſe, after he had ſatisfied "his glory; that notwithſtanding he had "not thought proper to diſcover his deſign, "till he had heard their ſentiments on the "ſubject, being ready to liſten to whatever "they ſhould ſay to him, and all prejudices "apart, embrace that determination which "they ſhould judge the moſt ſafe and glo-"rious for him." Having ſpoken thus, Agrippa expreſſed himſelf in this manner [x]: 'If your glory, O Cæſar, and preſervation, 'were not far dearer to me than my own 'intereſt, I would not praiſe the reſolution 'you have taken of laying down the ſu-'preme power. For the condition of a 'prince is very different from the condition 'of thoſe he honors with his friendſhip. 'He is the object of the people's hatred, 'and his favourites enjoy the ſunſhine of 'his government: I think not of inſuring 'to myſelf theſe advantages, and I am only 'concerned for your reputation and ſafety. 'If you had uſurped the ſupreme power by 'force of arms, they might condemn your 'violence, but could not blame your infin-'cerity; but holding it as you do, from the 'benevolence of the people and ſenate, who 'have but truſted you with it for ſome time, 'you cannot keep it without injuſtice. I 'ſpeak frankly, according to my cuſtom, 'and becauſe you would have me do ſo.

[x] *Dion.*

'It

'It is certain, that liberty is a property that 'is no less common to men, than the very 'air they breathe. They have all one prin- 'ciple, from which they came, and in which 'they will be re-united. They came from 'the gods, and return to them. Thus it is 'no strange thing, that they cannot suffer 'slavery, and that all despotic power in a 'fellow creature meets with universal repug- 'nance. Every one, on the contrary, fa- 'vours a popular government, because it 'establishes an equality. This equality, 'however, does not exclude the privileges 'of virtue; for it is both natural and just, 'that he who has more merit in him, should 'be more honored; and when such citizens 'are found, as have exalted qualities, all 'good men take a pleasure in their success, 'and are afflicted for their misfortunes: 'whereas he who usurps sovereignty, renders 'himself odious to others, who envy his 'prosperity, and rejoice at his distress and 'calamity.

'Besides, despotism is crossed by a thou- 'sand difficulties. To support it, you must 'increase taxes, which cannot be exacted 'without publick murmur; and tho' a po- 'pular government has need of the same as- 'sistances, the people bear the burthen be- 'cause it is by their own order; but they 'think insupportable those, which are im- 'posed by a power that restrains their liber- 'ty. In the administration of justice, there

'are

'are ſtill greater difficulties: the prince can-
'not wink at crimes, without multiplying
'them; nor puniſh them, without having
'the reputation of cruelty. Whereas pub-
'lic magiſtrates are freed from the hatred
'of thoſe puniſhments, by the conſideration
'they make, that they are inveſted with
'their own power. The diſtribution of
'public employments cauſes likewiſe great
'trouble to him who has ſupreme power.
'He cannot give them to perſons of extra-
'ordinary qualities without danger, becauſe
'aſpiring hearts do not eaſily ſuffer a ſupe-
'rior; nor inveſt unworthy ſubjects with
'them, without drawing upon himſelf the
'hatred of the people, who never willingly
'obey ſuch worthleſs perſons. On the con-
'trary, in a commonwealth, the moſt illuſ-
'trious perſons cauſe its ſecurity, and leav-
'ing things in that balance of power they
'found them, think of nothing but ſup-
'porting that republic which honors them.

'But if from theſe difficulties of govern-
'ment I paſs to the conſideration of the per-
'ſon of the prince, and the manner of life
'he impoſes on himſelf; I find little, very
'little reaſon to envy his condition. All
'his application is not ſufficient, to give or-
'ders to thoſe affairs that overwhelm him;
'his mind is exhauſted by its efforts, and
'he loſes his health. Yet, after all his care, he
'hears nothing but complaints. They make
'him anſwerable for all public calamities,

'and

'and all his beneficent actions, tho' never 'so extensive, cannot comfort them for the 'liberty he has taken from them: this con-'sideration is so powerful, that there have 'been found Barbarians who were so con-'vinced of it, that they refused a crown 'which was offered to them.

'As for what remains, the power of a 'prince perplexes him more than it gives 'him satisfaction; his riches are annually 'consumed, by the great expence he is ob-'liged to be at; the continual troops he 'maintains for his security, shew his fears 'and diffidence in the public affections; 'his courtiers are not always faithful to 'him; his favourites cost him dear; and 'to raise them to those dignities and riches 'they desire, he must often make many 'more worthy persons miserable. I know, 'Cæsar, your exalted virtues exempt you 'from fault, and that your liberalities are 'prejudicial to no one. But after all, you 'would find great difficulty to carry your-'self so prudently as to cause no male-'contents; for if you honor only persons 'of merit by your generosities, you will 'give occasion to others of revolting; and, 'if you dispense them without distinction, 'amongst the one and the other, you will 'make virtue more negligent, because it 'will not see itself distinguished from vice; 'and vice more bold, because it will find it-'self equalled with virtue. I finish, by as-

'suring

'ſuring you, that you will acquire an im-
'mortal glory, if after having conquered
'your enemies you reſtore to the repub-
'lic its arms and authority. You know
'the genius of the Romans, and that the
'leaſt ſuſpicion of aiming at royal power
'are crimes which they never pardoned
'in their beſt citizens. They could not
'ſuffer that Camillus ſhould have white
'horſes in his triumph, but puniſhed that
'ambition with a long exile. They were
'the ruin of Scipio, becauſe he applaud-
'ed too much his own great actions, and
'ſhewed too little reſpect for the repub-
'lic: and they never reſted till they had
'taken the life of your predeceſſor, upon
'ſuſpicion of his affecting unlimited power.

'To avoid this misfortune, imitate Pom-
'pey, who at the age in which you are,
'and after a triumph of the like nature,
'diveſted himſelf of all his power, and
'diſbanded his armies. If your country
'is dear to you reſtore to it its wiſh'd
'for liberty. But before you lay down
'your abſolute power, make ſuch whol-
'ſome laws as may keep every one in
'their duty, that no one may dare to
'trouble that happy peace you have given
'the empire.'

Agrippa having finiſhed his diſcourſe, Cæ-
ſar looked upon Mæcenas, who ſpoke thus:

"How ſpecious and well grounded ſo-
"ever the reaſons of Agrippa may ſeem,

"I cannot be of his ſentiment, and far "from placing your glory O Cæſar! and "ſecurity, in diveſting yourſelf of the im- "perial power, I do not think you can "do ſo without incurring your ruin. If "you cannot juſtly be blamed for reveng- "ing the murder of your adoptive father, "you cannot be blamed neither for re- "taining your authority and ſecuring there- "by the publick tranquillity. I own that "liberty is a poſſeſſion as valuable in its "own nature, as deſired by all mankind: "but it is to frame a falſe idea of it, to "make it conſiſt in a democracy. If there "is in ſuch a ſtate a more unbounded li- "cenſe, there is more confuſion. Give "a head to the republic, and you free it "from a multiplicity of tyrants.

"I do not find ſo many difficulties in "the execution, as Agrippa imagines. "Whatever may be argued, the raiſing of "taxes in no government can be diſpenſ- "ed with, but it is generally done with "more equity and œconomy by one ſu- "preme power, than by ſeveral limited "ones. And a people is never diſpoſed "to complain, when they evidently ſee "the prince proportions the public expence "to the exigences of the ſtate.

"As for the adminiſtration of equity, it "is better executed in a juſt monarchy "than a republic. The very dignity and "ſecurity of a prince conſiſts in this point;

"and

" and tho' the people always murmur at
" the condemnation of the innocent, yet
" they approve of the punishment of the
" guilty.

" Public employments are likewise more
" justly distributed by a wise and enlighten-
" ed prince than by the suffrages of an un-
" distinguishing populace. And a sovereign
" has nothing to fear from those whom he
" has raised to dignity, because they are in-
" debted to him for their fortunes.

" I agree about the cares that are an-
" next to sovereignty; but that is the con-
" dition of all who seek after glory. Re-
" move pains and danger, and there is
" no exercise of virtue.

" Yet you'll find still less difficulty in
" maintaining yourself in that power you
" have attained, than in acquiring it. I
" know so extensive an empire demands a
" soul as great as yours to govern it. But
" after all the more elevated your genius
" is, the greater facility you will find in
" supporting the burden.

" On the contrary, what danger do you
" not expose yourself to by a precipitate
" abdication. Can you believe, Cæsar, you
" can be secure by the restoration of pow-
" er to those persons you were obliged
" to disarm? those whom you offended
" during the triumvirate, only wait such a
" favourable opportunity to be revenged
" in their turn.

"But your glory is interested too. I'll "suppose that a senate, jealous of your "power, will praise your moderation in lay- "ing down the supreme authority; but "will others do you think, pass the same "judgment, or posterity not rather suspect "you did out of weakness what you look "upon as an act of the highest generosity. "For sovereignty being the appendage of "exalted merit, why should the worthy "person divest himself of it?

"You are likewise to maintain the title "of your adoption: and who can doubt "but Julius Cæsar designed to make his "power hereditary. If you only inherit "his riches, you inherit only what was least "valuable in him. 'Tis the succession to "the empire you was designed for, and "he did not leave you his name but with "a view you should claim his glory.

"But after a consideration of your in- "terest, I'll pass to that of your country, "which is dearer to you than your own, "and I find still more pressing motives for "your keeping the sovereign power: whom "would you intrust it to after you had de- "prived yourself? would this be to a rash "inconstant people less guided by reason "than caprice? or would it be to an am- "bitious senate, who would give as many "lords to the republic as there are patri- "cians in Rome. The republic might pass "without a head while no one affected to

"be

" be so. But since riches and superfluity
" have been the effect of our conquests, they
" have excited the ambition of the nobility,
" who have corrupted both the populace and
" the army with their gifts and bounty.
" This is the fatal source of our intestine
" divisions, which you will expose the com-
" monwealth to again, if you desert it.

" Besides it is not necessary, that tho'
" you exercise a supreme authority, you
" should take the name of king. I do not
" exhort you to tyranny, which I know you
" have a horror of. Be content with the
" name of Cæsar, added to that of emperor,
" and provided you keep the command,
" leave it to the senate to give you such
" titles as are agreeable to them, and suit-
" able to the majesty of a great prince."

Such were the discourses of Agrippa and Mæcenas. Cæsar having praised that affection they shewed for his interest, prefered the sentiment of Mæcenas to that of Agrippa, either because he thought it supported with more solid reason, or that self-love, which is generally speaking, the master of the human heart, determined him on that side. He desired of Mæcenas that he would add to the advice he had given him of keeping the supreme authority, those maxims by which he might govern the state well. This is the plan that wise minister laid down to him.

He was of opinion[y]; he should new regu-

[y] *Dion.*

late the ſenate, the order of the Roman knights, the different degrees of people, the allies and all the armies; that he ſhould begin for example's ſake by the reformation of the ſenate, by removing thoſe who had introduced themſelves in the confuſion of the civil wars, whoſe unworthineſs only diſhonored that illuſtrious body, and that he ſhould chuſe in their ſtead perſons conſiderable for their birth and virtue; not only in Italy, but in all the other provinces, becauſe by thus communicating with the allies, the honors of Rome, he would make ſo many true friends of them.

That he ſhould leave to the ſenators the poſſeſſion of all thoſe privileges, that no ways diminiſhed his own authority, but ſuppreſs thoſe that did, and gratify the ſenate with empty honors. That he ſhould let them keep that prerogative they had of not being judged but by their own body. That he ſhould deliberate with them about the public affairs of the empire, and maintain them in the honor they had of giving audience to ambaſſadors.

But that he ſhould retain the command of armies, the power of nominating magiſtrates, the diſtribution of rewards and puniſhments, and in fine all the ſupreme authority,

That he ſhould likewiſe manage the Roman knights, who were bound in intereſt with the ſenate by the hope of being one day admitted. That he ſhould divide his muni-

ficence

ficence between one and the other, by giving to the ſenators the moſt honorable employments, and to the Roman knights the moſt lucrative poſts; becauſe theſe laſt were not rich enough to ſupport the expence of their entrance into the chief magiſtracies. Thus by doing honor to the ſenate and obliging the Roman knights by generoſity he made himſelf maſter of them, and ſeemed to give them all when he took all from them.

Mæcenas added, that he ſhould give the employment of Roman prætor to thoſe ſenators who had already exerciſed charges of leſs importance, hereby to make ſure of the Romans by intruſting their lives and fortunes to a magiſtrate who was indebted to him for his employment.

That he ſhould chuſe two ſenators to exerciſe the function of cenſors, by commiſſion only, and depending on his orders; that they ſhould keep a regiſter of the families of the ſenators, and of Roman knights, of their manners and eſtates, and of the conduct which they kept in their own houſes, correcting faults themſelves of leſs importance, but making him a faithful report of great ones. By this means he would keep the ſenate within the bounds of reſpect, and extend his actual authority over all the families of Rome.

That he ſhould never give the prætorſhip, but to ſuch ſenators as had been ediles, queſ-

tors and tribunes; that he ſhould admit to the conſulſhip none but of prætorian dignity, that he ſhould diſtribute to thoſe, and ſuch as had been conſuls, the government of provinces, and the moſt important employments of the whole empire; but that none but Romans born ſhould be admitted to thoſe high offices, without other ſenators who were taken from allied provinces, having any pretence to them.

By this equity which was determined by age, rank and ſervices of perſons, he would take away all pretext for murmurs, and accuſtom the ſenate to receive as benefits thoſe employments which he had uſurped from them.

That he ſhould eſtabliſh public ſchools with generous allowances to teach all the liberal arts, and military exerciſes to the young Roman nobility, as a ſure means to gain abſolutely the hearts of the youth, and make ſure of the childrens parents.

That he ſhould make uſe of the Roman knights to furniſh Rome with proviſion, and gather public taxes and tributes over the diſtant provinces; but that he ſhould join with them certain freed men, who under pretence of aſſiſting them, ſhould have an eye over their adminiſtration.

By this precaution he would make ſure of the revenues, which a prince cannot take too much care of.

That

That to the end he might provide for the neceſſities of all the empire, he ſhould divide the provinces, kingdoms, iſlands and Italy itſelf, and ſend into each place two of prætorian, and one of conſulary quality. That one of thoſe prætorians ſhould take cogniſance of private affairs, and the other of public, with the ſuperintendency of thoſe troops which belonged to his quarter. That they ſhould refer to the tribunal of the conſulary magiſtrate, the judgment of all capital crimes; but if the offence had been committed by a centurion or ſenator of the city, the whole affair ſhould be ſent to the prince.

That if there was more than one legion in one quarter, the government of the troops ſhould be divided between the two prætorians, to weaken their authority by ſuch diviſion.

That their employments ſhould not continue above five years, at the moſt; and three at the leaſt.

By this wiſe mixture of power he would give the magiſtrates ſufficient authority to maintain the public peace, and too little to revolt againſt himſelf; and that he would thus become the centre of all authority.

That he ſhould aſſign ſalaries, out of the public treaſure, to ſuch magiſtrates as went to govern provinces; becauſe it would not be juſt they ſhould ſerve the republic at their own expence in foreign countries, or indem-

nify themſelves by plundering defenceleſs nations.

That to keep the legions complete, he ſhould raiſe ſoldiers over all the allied and tributary provinces, as well as in Italy; but that he ſhould no longer make uſe of auxiliary troops. That he ſhould inliſt none but robuſt men, and ſuch as had no profeſſion; leaving to others the care of arts, agriculture, and merchandize. This was an efficacious means of furniſhing his armies with good ſoldiers, and averſe to deſertion; and of baniſhing idleneſs from the ſtate.

That he ſhould deſtine, for the maintenance of thoſe troops, a fund drawn from four ſprings; from the money that ſhould ariſe after the ſale of thoſe valuable moveables he had brought from Egypt and Aſia, which he counſelled him to ſell, and put the money out to intereſt: from the mines belonging to the republic; and laſtly, from thoſe tributes which were paid by the ſubjects of the empire, as well as thoſe taxes he ſhould impoſe upon the lands of citizens, who would ſoon accuſtom themſelves to pay moderate ones, that they might enjoy the advantages of peace.

That as the prætorian bands cauſed the danger or ſecurity of the prince, according to thoſe affections they were inſpired with, he ſhould place over them two leaders, drawn from the body of the Roman knights, with the

the ſame power as the prætorians had over the legions.

That he would thus hinder conſpiracies in the army, by keeping it divided in two bodies; for, by making uſe of the prætorian bands to keep the legions in their duty, and employing none but Roman knights for captains in thoſe bands, he would lay a reſtraint upon the ſenators, whoſe credit or riches were conſiderable, that they might not eaſily withdraw themſelves from his obedience.

That he ſhould provide for the tranquillity of Rome, by aboliſhing all popular tumultuous aſſemblies; a certain ſource of national diviſion.

That he ſhould ſhew his own magnificence by adorning Rome with ſumptuous edifices; and ſupply his own diverſion by the pomp and ſplendor of plays, ſhows, and public ſpectacles: nothing being more ſure to pacify a people, than at the ſame time to employ and divert them.

That he ſhould oblige all the tributary provinces to make uſe of the money, weights and meaſures of Italy, and endeavour to make them conform to the Roman cuſtoms; thereby to make them dependant in all things, that ſtrangers and foreigners might refer all to the Romans, as the Romans referred all to their prince.

That he ſhould not puniſh conſpiracies againſt his own perſon himſelf, but remit the judgment of them to the ſenate, and ſtill temper by his clemency and generous magnanimity the ſeverity of their ſentences; which would not only draw upon him the warm love of all good men, but in ſome degree that of his greateſt enemies. But this was to be underſtood, excluſive of military conſpiracies which were to be puniſhed upon the ſpot, to ſuppreſs the inſolence of armed ſoldiers, and cut off from the very root all opportunities of ſedition and revolt.

That he ſhould connive at leſſer faults, contenting himſelf with puniſhing thoſe crimes that might diſturb the public peace; and that he ſhould recompence merit, without fearing to be impoveriſhed by ſuch liberality; becauſe there would always be a greater plenty of recompences in ſuch an empire, than ſubjects that would deſerve them.

That he ſhould hinder the people from erecting to him ſtatues of gold and ſilver, and building him temples; becauſe he could never better deſerve immortality, than by acknowledging himſelf to be a man. That he ſhould reſpect the religion of his anceſtors, keeping up a reverence for augurs and auruſpices, and not ſuffering aſtrologers to delude the people, a pernicious ſett of men who lay ſnares for the credulity of ſilly men and women; nor ſelf-conceited, proud philoſophers, who by an affected contempt of grandeur

deur weaken that respect which is due to princes, there being but very few who resemble Arius and Artimidorus.

That he should protect the liberal arts, taking care of such as had a genius, and excelled in them; but, on the contrary, treat with contempt certain proud, pedantic men, whose retirement and business are seldom innocent, and always shameful.

That as for what remained, the most sure rule to make his government agreeable was so to temper his authority, as he would wish others should behave towards him, if fortune had made him a subject.

Cæsar approved of Mæcenas's advice, and in the execution not only made use of him, but likewise of Agrippa, tho' this last had been of a contrary sentiment. Those two wise ministers, who had in view nothing but Cæsar's glory, were always united when his will was to be put in execution. The greatest part of these articles were executed upon the spot, or a little time afterwards; others were put off to a greater distance of time, and some were deferred till after the death of Cæsar; so that this plan was the rule of his successors, and it is still that of all princes in those maxims that can be conveniently observed.

Cæsar began, according to the counsel of Mæcenas, by the reformation of the senate [z];

[z] *Dion, Suetonius.*

this

this was the very ſeat or cathedra of the empire, and tho' the people from time to time had made vain efforts to eſtabliſh a Democracy, or at leaſt to divide the authority, yet they always fell again under the dominion of a body of men, whoſe policy and riches prevailed over the populace. It was from this illuſtrious body that all the patrician families came, whoſe blood was nobler than that of kings; and from whence the republic drew its chief magiſtrates, its prætors and conſuls; to whoſe honor, courage and fidelity it intruſted the adminiſtration of juſtice, the conduct of armies, with the government of thoſe provinces and kingdoms, that obeyed the Roman ſtate. Thus the ſenators, under pretence of maintaining the empire, made extraordinary honors be paid them in the provinces, not only when they went thither to exerciſe their magiſtracies, but alſo in public voyages, which they made for their pleaſure or private affairs, never going abroad without lictors, a mark of ſovereignty. They had not this equipage in Rome, unleſs they were prætors or conſuls; but when they paſſed along in the city, the people roſe up and ſtood till they were gone by.

It was from this ſovereign tribunal that thoſe decrees came, which eſtabliſhed or overthrew thrones, and determined the fate not only of private perſons, but monarchs themſelves, who were ſubject to the

Roman-

Roman empire. It had been a long time, that the people had no more than the ſhadow of authority, being in truth ſubject to the ſenate; and the ſenate no longer propoſed to them its decrees but for form's ſake, and to deceive them by this deceitful reſpect and difference. Sylla had completed the ruin of public liberty, by ordering that the tribunes who had firſt been inſtituted for the protection of the people, ſhould be taken from the body of the ſenate. This was obſerved till Octavius Cæſar afterwards aboliſhed this law by another, which permitted the Roman knights to be candidates of the tribuneſhip, leaving to their choice whether they would re-enter into their own body after the time of their employment, or be incorporated into the ſenate.

The number of ſenators had never been well regulated, they were a thouſand in the time of Tarquin, which was a great number for the infancy of Rome, which had then but a ſmall extent of juriſdiction and territory. The civil wars which tore Rome to pieces in the ſeventh age after its foundation, ſo greatly weakened the ſenate, that it was reduced to three hundred in the time of Sylla; after his death there were great ſupplements made to this order, ſo that under the dictatorſhip of Julius Cæſar they amounted to more than eight hundred. After his death, Antony abuſing his power in the triumvirate, had introduced two hundred, who had

had neither the birth nor eſtate that were neceſſary to ſupport ſo eminent a dignity; for beſides birth and merit, the laws ordered, that no one could be raiſed to this honor, if he had not fifteen thouſand crowns annually; and that thoſe who had diſſipated their incomes ſhould be degraded. Octavius Cæſar required further, that none ſhould be received who were not well made, that the people might have nothing to reproach that order with.

They did not always give their audience in the ſame place; and there were ſeveral quarters in Rome where they had palaces, but that place where they aſſembled was always called the court; and there was at the entrance an altar dedicated to ſome one of their gods, where the ſenator that entred was obliged to make libations and perfumes, and throw at leaſt one grain of incenſe into the fire. It was by this, that, in the birth of chriſtianity, they diſcovered chriſtians, who refuſed this incence to idols and dæmons, chooſing rather to ſuffer death, than be guilty of ſuch a criminal complaiſance.

The ſenate aſſembled commonly twice a month, upon the day of the calends, and the firſt of the ides, but there was a vacation, which laſted ſix weeks, in vintage-time. Such was, or at leaſt ought to have been, the form of the ſenate, according to the antient rule; but ſeveral abuſes had inſinuated themſelves, and there had been great negligence and irregularity.

gularity. They ſometimes gave themſelves the liberty of aſſembling in private houſes, they often abſented themſelves from the court, and the greateſt part of thoſe that came thither, neither obſerved that decency or gravity which their dignity obliged them to,

Cæſar undertook to correct theſe abuſes, and re-eſtabliſh the ſenate in its antient ſplendor. The firſt thing he did was to remove thoſe who diſgraced their high ſtation by their life, or by their mean extraction; and he did not employ in this reformation any other force but that of arguments and reaſons, adviſing thoſe who were convinced in their conſciences of their own unworthineſs, voluntarily to retire, before they were obliged to it, and were publicly degraded by the cenſors. Fifty obeyed upon the ſpot, and one hundred and forty ſoon after did the ſame thing. He continued to them all the prerogatives of ſenators, except that of coming to court; and he filled up their places with perſons of merit, ſupplying, by his own generoſity, what was wanting in the revenues of ſome of them. He ordered likewiſe places appointed for their convocation on cuſtomary days; and he would have them come to the court, cloathed in a manner ſuitable to their dignity.

The republic was divided into three ſtates or claſſes, the ſenate, the knights, and the people; and every ſtate was diſtinguiſhed from

from the other by its dreſs, as well as its birth. The ſame form was common to all, and the plebeians wore the gown as well as the knights and patricians, but the knights were diſtinguiſhed by a gold ring and the auguſtus clavus [a], which was a border of purple narrower than that of the ſenators; and the ſenators were diſtinguiſhed from one another by a border of the ſame nature, but wider than that of the knights. The robe of the patricians was not all of purple, the ground was a very fine white; to which was added the border of purple, as a magnificent ornament. Theſe diſtinctions in the robes of thoſe who were honored with a triumph, or the title of Imperator, were ſtill ſet off with flowers and embroidery of gold, which covered the whole habit, ſo that one could ſcarce ſee the ground-work of it. Theſe laſt had the privilege of wearing this robe all of purple, without any mixture. It was tied upon the ſhoulder by a knot, which had a graceful air; and it was bound about by a girdle, without which the dreſs would have been inconvenient. The cenſors ſometimes forbad the uſe of this girdle to thoſe who led a diſorderly life, which was a mark of public infamy. Cæſar therefore would have the ſenators appear at court in dreſſes ſuitable to their quality, and thoſe titles and employments they had been honored with.

[a] *Dion, Suetonius.*

Thus,

Thus, by contributing to the magnificence of the ſenate, he employed their thoughts about what had a vain exterior; whilſt applying himſelf to what was eſſential to monarchy, he took from them all their authority.

It was at this time he made a ſolemn edict of the reſolution he had taken while he was ſtill at Alexandria, not to truſt the government of Egypt to a ſenator, for fear he might become powerful enough to revolt againſt him with the ſuccours of ſo powerful a kingdom; forbidding, in general, all ſenators the free travelling over the provinces, without his permiſſion. They had only the liberty of travelling in Italy, and that part of Gaul which was called Narbonian, from the name of its capital, which had been built by a Roman conſul [b]; but his political view was in this, and all other things, to appropriate ultimately to himſelf all the authority both of people and ſenate. The people commanded in the ancient republic, and the ſenate only approved their orders; but, in length of time this laſt body had got into their own hands the other power. But Cæſar uniting in his own perſon the civil rights of both, regulated all things in his privy council; not propoſing them to the ſenate till he had taken his reſolution, and this meerly for the ſake of having their approba-

[b] *Martius Narbo.*

tion;

tion; yet leaving them the liberty of a contrary declared ſentiment, whether it was, that he deſired that every man ſhould act diſintereſtedly, and from his heart, and beſt judgment, or that he only affected out of policy this apparent moderation. Whatever was the reality, he did not condemn the liberty of a ſenator, who named one of his enemies in his preſence for the prætorſhip; nor the anſwer which this ſenator made him, when asking him if he did not know a worthier perſon, he immediately replied, votes were free, and that every one had his friends. He ſometimes found a warm oppoſition to his reſolutions, without ſhewing any reſentment of it. As for what remains of his character, he was not only indefatigable in the diſpatch of ſtate-affairs, but he diſtributed ſuch exact juſtice amongſt particulars, that he gave audience every day in caſes of moment; reſting upon a couch when he was weak or indiſpoſed, and ordering private perſons to come into his chamber, when his illneſs was ſuch as to hinder him from going abroad; he always took the ſide of mildneſs and moderation, when crimes were to be examined into, and aſſiſted the accuſed in making their beſt defence. And a perſon having been accuſed of the murder of his parent, he interrogated him in this manner: "Certainly, thou haſt not "committed ſo horrible a crime:" giving him by this means the boldneſs to deny it in.

in his presence. He was likewise of easy access to every one, desiring they should come to him at all times, and present him freely their petitions; and a person once holding one out at a distance, and trembling, he advanced his own hand to receive it, correcting him at the same time with a smile for his timidity, by asking him "if he thought "he was exposing his hands to an elephant."

Being named for the consulship the sixth time [c], he chose Agrippa for his collegue; of whom he had so great an esteem, that during the war he would have his tent made like his own, and that the officers should take the word of command indifferently from one or the other; and still dividing with him, during peace, the fruits of his victories: he would have him preceded by an equal number of lictors and fasces, and that there should be no distinction in the exercise of their consulship. He married him the same year to his niece, the daughter of Octavia, whom she had had by Marcellus her first husband; but some years after he drew him nearer to himself, by marrying him with Julia his own daughter, and widow of young Marcellus. This year was considerable for those public edifices which Cæsar built, and those shews which he exhibited for the people; but it was still more remarkable for the care he took of the public treasure, taking up money at

[c] *Year of Rome* 726.

interest

interest in his own name to fill the coffers, and he created two superintendants of the revenues, who were to be changed every year; for his unequalled liberalities in distributing corn to the people, and supporting those senators at his own expence who behaved well and were in danger of poverty; and for his equity and mercy, in making void by one edict all the decrees that had ever passed during the civil wars, and principally those under the triumvirate. He was honored the same year with the title of prince of the senate; a title that was not unknown to the ancient republic, and had been given to others before him. But to try the affection of the senate, or make sure of them, he offered to abdicate the empire, if they judged his abdication beneficial to the republic, saying, he knew very well what he exposed himself to; but that he chose rather to die for the public good, than preserve his life at the expence of Rome's liberty: wherefore he actually restored to them the empire, all its provinces and armies, and only exhorted them to banish factions, and be perfectly united amongst themselves, upon generous, disinterested principles; if they would have their government glorious, happy, and lasting.

This discourse had the effect which Cæsar expected, tho' it produced very different motions, of fear and hope, according to the various inclinations of different persons.

Those

Thoſe who wiſhed to ſee the re-eſtabliſhment of the commonwealth, were filled with joy; but, ſtill apprehending this might be a feint, they durſt not diſcover the tranſport of their hearts; and thoſe who began to accuſtom themſelves to monarchy, were filled with grief, fearing they ſhould fall again into the confuſion and civil wars of popular ambition and a corrupted empire. All, therefore, begged of him, in the moſt ſubmiſſive and preſſing terms, to hold the reins of ſupreme power in his own hands. He reſiſted them a long time, but at laſt ſuffered himſelf to be prevailed upon; and the ſenate, to teſtiſy their affection, ordered upon the ſpot, that the pay of the prætorian bands who were the prince's life-guards ſhould be increaſed one half. The real deſign of Cæſar was not to throw up the empire, which he had uſurped; but by this ſtratagem he made it be confirmed to him as a right, and ſo became lawful ſovereign, perhaps by affecting to be popular. He declared, notwithſtanding, that he did not accept the ſovereignty but for ten years, of which he would have the ſenate make a decree; but this was the moſt artful means of aſſuring it to himſelf for life, and he kept the ſame conduct ever after; ſo that the ſenate were obliged to renew their decree every time it was ready to expire. Cæſar would likewiſe divide the provinces of the empire, giving up to the people and ſenate thoſe that were peaceable, and keeping

keeping the government of those others, which, upon account of their not being thoroughly subjected, had need of the prince's own care and application. This division seemed advantageous to the people and senate, by putting into their hands the peace and plenty of the empire; but it left Cæsar the absolute authority, because he thus remained master of those armies which were necessary to keep the people of so extensive an empire in perfect obedience.

Cæsar having ordered a journal of the empire to be given him, ordered it to be read to the senate and governors of conquered kingdoms and provinces; and then said to them, that he yielded to them Afric, properly so called, with Numidia, Libya, Sardinia, Bætic, Spain[d], Epire, Greece, Sicily, the island of Crete, Dalmatia, Macedonia, the lesser Asia, Bithynia, and those other provinces which are extended along the Euxine sea; and that he retained for himself what remained of Spain, Tarragonesus, Lusitania[e], Narbonian Gaul, the province about Lyons, Aquitania, Belgium[f], Cælisyria, Phænicia, Cilicia, the island of Cyprus, and the kingdom of Egypt. He afterwards changed the island of Cyprus and Narbonian Gaul for Dalmatia; because this last was not quiet,

[d] *So called from Bætic, at this day Guadalquivir.* [e] *Portugal.* [f] *These provinces composed the kingdom of France.*

but

but had often tumults and insurrections in it. The kingdoms of Pontus, Cappadocia, Galatia, Armenia, Judea, Arabia, and several others, were not comprehended in this division, tho' they acknowledged the sovereignty of the empire, because the possession of them was left to the allied or tributary kings.

Cæsar likewise regulated the customs, by which the provinces were to be governed; as well those which he retained, as those he gave up to the people and the senate, according to the plan of Mæcenas. He therefore agreed with the senate, not to send any but patricians into the provinces, exclusive of Egypt which was to be governed by a Roman knight, by a decree that had been made before; and with exception to some other important places, which Cæsar intrusted to the Roman knights, that he might cause an emulation and jealousy in the senate. It was likewise resolved, that those magistrates who went into the provinces depending upon the people and senate, should take the name of proconsuls, and the others the name of proprætors, who were sent into places belonging to Cæsar, whether they had been consuls and prætors, or not; those titles only serving to distinguish the governments of the people from those of the prince. They gave likewise the name of præfecti, to all these governors indifferently; adding to them, for distinction's sake, the titles of proconsul or proprætor; but both the one

and the other went into their provinces with lictors and fasces. These governors had their legates or coadjutors, who relieved them in the painful offices of their employments; and these legates were often prætorians themselves, or senators, who at least had been ediles or quæstors. The prince, who named the governors of those provinces, appropriated to the people, as well as the magistrates of his own provinces; likewise nominated the legates of both of them.

The proconsuls were charged with the care of paying in the taxes from the provinces; but there were established in other governments commissaries for this, whom Cæsar took from the body of the Roman knights, only joining with them some of his freed men, according to the advice of Mæcenas. The power of the sword was given to the prince's deputies, and taken from others; but neither the one nor the other could make levies of men or money.

All these governments were annual, but Cæsar had the power of prolonging the commissions. At the end of their governments they could not enter upon new employments of trust, till after an interval of five years. This was a piece of policy of Cæsar, to hinder the ambition of senators from growing troublesome; but he gave another reason for it, founded upon the number of senators, who could not hope otherwise to govern in turn. This order however was not new,

new[g], because it had been made in the time of the republic, to suppress the avarice of governors, and give the people the courage of accusing them in the space of five years, for which time they knew they must be without authority.

It was at this time the senate gave to Cæsar the name of emperor[h], to be for ever after a title of pre-eminence and sovereignty annexed to the family of the Cæsars; it afterwards descended to those who succeeded to the empire, and is at this day the title of the first monarch of christianity.

They added to the title of emperor that of Augustus[i]; so glorious an appellation, that when it was the immediate reward of merit, it must have given a great idea of grandeur and sublimity[k].

The Romans caused likewise laurel-trees to be planted before his palace, above which they hung chaplets or crowns of artificial oak; making by the laurels the glory and happiness of his triumphs, and by the oak the cares he took to maintain the vigor of the empire. It was also at this time the senate ordered, that the house where he dwelt, should be called Palatium, upon account of mount Palatinus; upon which Cæsar, in imitation of Romulus, had chosen his habitation; but this was to be continued, tho' he

[g] *Plutarch.* [h] *Year* 727. [i] *Dion.* [k] *Suetonius.*

left that place, and transferred his abode elsewhere. This is the origin of a name that is so famous at this day.

Augustus, preserving his moderation in the midst of all his glory, appeared regularly in the senate [1]; where he would have all his decrees pass by a plurality of voices; and a public conviction of their equity, without shewing either affectation or partiality in his conduct. Tho' the people had no longer any share in the supreme power, yet he permitted them freely to examine his ordinances, which he ordered to be fixed up according to the ancient custom; and he was always ready to listen to any of their remonstrances, by which they could prove them prejudicial to their interests. He employed labourers the same year in repairing the public ways, that persons might travel from all parts of Italy conveniently to Rome. He left the care of foreign roads to his magistrates, to whom he gave the power to draw what money was necessary upon the Imperial treasury; but he reserved to himself the care of the others, and particularly the reparation of the Flaminian way, because it was the passage of those armies he commanded; and he made it be paved every where with large stones, from Rome even as far as Rimini, taking this expence from his own stock, and not the funds of the republic. To furnish

[1] *Dion, Suetonius, Plutarch.*

this

this vast expence, he melted down the statues of gold and silver which cities and allied kings had sent him; changing thus so many monuments of vanity into monuments of beneficence.

Augustus made a tour this year into Gaul, with a design to have passed over into England, and subject that island which had revolted. But when he was upon the point of embarking, ambassadors came to him to assure him of the obedience of the whole country, which was returned to its duty, and ready to receive what conditions he would impose. Yet his journey was not useless, for the Gauls having taken occasion from the civil wars, had revolted in several places in the province, and refused to pay the tributes they owed to the empire. Cæsar reduced the mutineers in a little time, without spilling blood, and pacified all jealousies by his presence.

It was in this voyage that he divided the government of Gaul into four districts, Narbonian Gaul, Aquitania, the country about Lyons, and the old Belgium; and he fixed the taxes at ten million pieces of gold a year.

After this he passed over into Spain, where he redressed those disorders which the dissentions of the republic had caused, and reestablished every where the majesty and peace of the empire. We may reflect here, how necessary the presence of a sovereign some-

times is to keep people in obedience, and hinder those revolts, which his absence gives his subjects the boldness of beginning.

This is what happened the same year in Egypt, where Cornelius Gallus, whom Cæsar had made governor before he departed from Alexandria, had the insolence to make statues and pyramids be erected to him, at that very time when his master melted down those statues of gold and silver, which had been erected to him. He added to his vanity ingratitude and calumny, speaking dishonourably of his prince, who had intrusted him with the most important government of the empire. Augustus contented himself with recalling him, and sending him a successor; but the senate, to whom Cæsar had committed the recognizance of treasonable crimes, would have his accusation made in form; and Gallus, apprehending the rigour of the law, prevented his condemnation by voluntary death. The emperor shewed a regret for it, complaining of the circumstances of his own condition, that as a prince he could not be angry with his friends without ruining them. Gallus had made himself by his liberalities many friends and creatures; and the noble poetry of Virgil, as well as the writings of the other best poets in that age, are full of his praises; but he had none in the senate who were more inveterate enemies to him, than those he had been most bountiful to: which clearly shews, that those who are

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in high posts of favour, must expect no longer gratitude from the generality of mankind, than while that favour and the sun-shine of a court lasts.

The following year [m], Rufus Egnatius, who had exercised the edileship, fixed publicly at the end of his charge a seditious paper in the principal parts of the city [n], boasting of having left Rome in a good condition by his vigilance, and encouraging all his successors to finish what he had so happily begun. Augustus only blamed the ambition of the edile, and exhorted those who were to succeed him to be more moderate, and extinguish early that spark which might be capable of rekindling the dreadful conflagration of civil factions.

In the mean time Cæsar passed over into Spain [o], to make war with the Cantabrians, and those of Asturia, who had revolted. The first possessed the kingdom of Navarre and Piscaya; the others, not only Asturias, but the kingdoms of Lions and Oviedo. His enemies intrenching themselves in inaccessable places gave great trouble to Cæsar, who could not draw them down to a field battle. The fatigues he underwent made him fall sick, and he was obliged to order himself to be carried to Tarragona for his recovery, leaving to Antistes his lieutenant, the super-

[m] *Year* 728. [n] *Dion, Suetonius, Plutarch.*
[o] *Year* 729.

intendancy of his army. Antiſtes terminated the war happily, and the good fortune of the emperor turned his retirement to his advantage; for the enemy who had not dared to make an open campaign while he commanded in perſon; having been informed of his diſtemper, and abſence, became bolder and gave battle to his lieutenant, who defeated them. Antiſtes afterwards beſieged the capital of Aſturias, and took it. The other cities opened their gates, and all the country returned to his obedience.

After this expedition, Cæſar, who had recovered his health, marched his army into Luſitania; and, not to let his ſoldiers remain uſeleſs in a country that was at peace, he employed them in building a city, which he called Emerita [p] Auguſta; becauſe he there diſmiſſed thoſe ſoldiers, who had finiſhed the time of their ſervice.

He learnt at the ſame time, that one of his lieutenants [q] had defeated the Germans, and had deſerved for it the title of Imperator; and that the ſenate had likewiſe decreed him a triumph; becauſe, as we have ſaid before, the honor of the ſucceſs was referred to the general, tho' abſent. But Cæſar refuſed the honor of a triumph, and returned to Rome, where he ordered the temple of Janus [r] to

[p] *This term ſignifies diſmiſſed.* [q] *M. Vinicius.*
[r] *Year* 730.

be

be closed, which had been opened upon account of those wars.

Amintas, king of Lycaonia and the neighbouring states, died about this time; and tho' he left a son capable of succeeding him, the emperor reduced his kingdom to a province; but he restored their liberties to the cities of Pamphilia, which this king had made himself master of.

Cæsar, at his return, married his nephew Marcellus, who was not then above twenty years old, with his daughter Julia, who was then but fifteen; and his health not permitting him to celebrate the ceremonies himself, he left the care of them to Agrippa, who acquitted himself with a magnificence worthy of Augustus. He knew not at that time that he himself should marry Julia soon after; for Marcellus did not survive above a year his marriage.

The same year Agrippa built the portico of Neptune, in memory of Cæsar's naval victories; and ornamented this edifice with paintings, and sculptures; some of which represented the voyage of the Argonauts, and others the battle of Actium. He added to this portico the magnificence of baths, after the Lacedemonian fashion, which he provided with all things necessary. He finished likewise the Pantheon, which had remained incomplete; and had a mind to have placed in it the statue of Augustus; but Augustus would not suffer it, contenting himself with

its being placed in the perch, with that of Agrippa; but the ſtatue of Julius Cæſar was put in the temple, amongſt thoſe of the gods.

A little time after this, Auguſtus, who had always been indiſpoſed after his return, fell entirely ſick, and his health was deſpaired of for ſome days. Not hoping his own recovery, he ſent to the principal perſons in the ſenate, and amongſt the Roman knights; and when they were come into his chamber, he put the journal of the empire into the hands of Piſo, who was his collegue in the conſulſhip that year, and gave the ſignet with which he ſealed the diſpatches to Agrippa, without ſpeaking a word to one or the other; whether this was done out of ſome political deſign, or that the condition in which he was did not permit him to ſpeak; but certainly he left every body doubtful of his intention, and ſurpriſed at theſe two actions. For the ſenators had thought he did not call them but to recommend a ſucceſſor to the empire, and they did not doubt but this ſucceſſor was to be Marcellus. Yet it ſeemed that Cæſar, by giving up the journal of the empire to the ſenate, had a mind to reſtore them their ancient power; and, on the other ſide, one might have imagined, that he had not given the imperial ſignet to Agrippa, in preſence of the ſenate, but to mark him out for his intended ſucceſſor. None ever knew the true intention of the emperor,

who

who never declared it to any one afterwards; but Agrippa, fearing least Marcellus might take umbrage at what had passed, retired to Mitylene, as soon as Augustus was perfectly recovered.

The senate shewed their extreme joy for the recovery of the emperor [1], and made Antonius Musa his physician very considerable presents, distinguishing him with extraordinary honors; for they not only made him a Roman knight, tho' he was but a freed man; but upon account of him, they conferred the same honor on all the physicians that were at Rome.

Marcellus fell sick, almost as soon as Augustus was recovered, and was snatched from the empire and his family by premature death, for which some authors have suspected Livia; but others attribute the cause to those contagious distempers which spread themselves over Italy that year. Whatever might be the fact, Augustus was most sensibly touched for so great a loss; and the Romans, of whom Marcellus was the hope and delight, shewed upon this occasion an universal sorrow. Augustus sought for comfort in the business of the empire, and a little time after he introduced into the senate those ambassadors, which Phraates king of the Parthians had sent him, to demand his son, who was an hostage in Rome, and his brother

[1] *Dion, Suetonius, Plutarch.*

Tiridates, who had retired thither to avoid his cruelty. Phraates had accompanied the embaſſy with the ſtandards, that had been taken from the Romans at the defeat of Craſſus, and in the unhappy expedition of Antony, which Phraates ſent back again to Auguſtus. The ſenate granted the ambaſſadors, according to the emperor's direction, the demand they made of their king's ſon; but refuſed them Tiridates, excuſing themſelves upon the ſanctity of that aſylum which the prince had come to ſeek for at Rome.

The ſame year the conſulſhip of Auguſtus being expired, he refuſed to be continued in that employment, that he might leave to others the hope of exerciſing it in their turn; being content himſelf with thoſe other titles and power he had in the government of the empire. Yet he exerciſed afterwards other five conſulſhips, leſs to increaſe his power than to honor the conſulſhip itſelf. He named, for ſucceſſor to his ninth conſulſhip, Lucius Seſtius, one of the moſt zealous partizans of Brutus, and who had him in ſuch veneration that one ſaw the pictures of this famous republican in all his chambers. The ſenate, who honored the memory of Brutus, gave the higheſt praiſes to this action of the emperor, and to ſhew their gratitude, honored him with the title of perpetual tribune, of which he executed the power without taking the name.

The

The following year the Tiber [t] overflowed, and the plague wasted Italy. The superstitious people believed, that these misfortunes happened because Cæsar was not consul that year [u]. So that assembling together they resolved to make him dictator, and came to find him with fasces carried by twenty-four lictors, who marched up with all reverence to this supreme magistrate, to shew that his power was above that of the consuls, who had each of them only twelve. They used to persuade him both by prayers and submissions; but seeing they could obtain nothing of him, they threatened in a desperate manner to set fire to Rome; but Cæsar tearing his purple robe, to shew his indignation, remained inflexible to their prayers or threats, and obliged them to retire, rejecting an odious title to establish himself in a lawful power.

At the same time he named for the office of censors, Lepidus and Plancus, the last of which was brother to one of the proscribed under the triumvirship, and the other had been proscribed himself. Thus Cæsar drew over to his interest the republican party, by giving them a share in the public employments, that they might cease to hate the establishment of his power.

[t] *Year* 731.
[u] *Dion, Suetonius.*

He

He made two commiſſaries over the cities proviſions, and would have the ſuperintendancy himſelf [x]. He took as much care that corn never might be wanting in ſo great a city, where they reckoned in his time above four milions of ſouls. He opened the public granaries upon the nones of each month; and in thoſe months when corn was dear, he made it be diſtributed at a lower price, and ſometimes for no money at all. He made this year twelve diſtributions of this nature to the people of that corn, which he purchaſed with his own money; but he would not ſuffer them to abuſe his liberality; and as they came one day in crowds to demand that corn which he had not promiſed them, he told them he had had a deſign of diſtributing it to them before they aſked it, but that he had changed his mind, becauſe he could not give them as a gratuity what they exacted as a juſt tribute.

Auguſtus made the ſame year many regulations, for the convenience and ſecurity of the public [y], which he intruſted the execution of to the curule ediles, and other magiſtrates; and very well knowing what paſſion the people had for ſports and ſhows, he took care to correct the abuſes without diminiſhing the magnificence. Thoſe magiſtrates who entered upon their employments,

[x] *Dion, Suetonius.*

[y] *Dion, Suetonius, Plutarch.*

were

were obliged to exhibit pompous ſpectacles to the people of a vaſt expence, ſo that they were often ruined by them, and ſometimes not being able to bear ſo great a charge, refuſed the magiſtracy. Auguſtus did not take from the people a diverſion with which they were inchanted, but he ordered that the magiſtrates ſhould be indemnified for theſe expences, by alternative preſents from the people; and he was ſometimes at the expence himſelf for his particular friends. It is ſaid of him, that he gave ſeven and twenty magnificent ſhows, of different kinds, in the amphitheatre, Circus and Campus Martius, during his empire; which were the places deſigned for ſuch ſort of entertainments [z]. Sometimes they were ſhows of Athletæ, who diſputed the prize in running or wreſtling; at other times thoſe pomps conſiſted of gladiators, who preſented themſelves in the great arena of the amphitheatre to the number of five or ſeven hundred foot, and five hundred horſe, with twenty elephants on each ſide; and they joined battle with ſo furious a ſhock, that the half of them generally remained dead upon the place. And ſometimes Cæſar gave the people the pleaſure of a ſea-fight, having for this purpoſe cauſed in the Campus Martius a lake of eight hundred foot long and two hundred foot broad, to be made, capable of containing thirty ſhips

[z] *Dion, Suetonius.*

equipped

equipped for war, and a greater number of ſmaller veſſels. They fought upon this lake as at open ſea, with this difference, that theſe fleets were not compoſed but of thoſe veſſels that had been ſent him from Rhodes, Cyprus and Phænicia, which were all gilded and of an agreeable ſtructure. At other times, theſe combats conſiſted of lions and other wild beaſts, which they let looſe in the arena, to the number of three thouſand at a time, who tore one another to pieces in a moſt dreadful, bloody manner. At other times theſe diverſions conſiſted in agreeable hunting, which laſted many days; or in chariot-races, tournaments and games after the Greek and Trojan faſhion. And ſometimes there were ſelect comedies acted, to make the people laugh and put them in good humour.

Before Scipio Africanus, whom ſome[a] believe to have written himſelf, or at leaſt his friend Lælius, in Terence's Comedies, the ſenators and Roman knights ſaw theſe ſpectacles confuſedly with the plebeians, who ſhewed only this honor to the patricians, of waiting till they were ſeated before they took their own places. After that time, the places were diſtinguiſhed. And, at length, Pompey, Julius Cæſar and Statilius Taurus, built amphitheatres of an enormous bigneſs, in which above a million of perſons might

[a] *Valer. Maximus.*

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be conveniently ſeated at once. For before this there were nothing but plain barriers to ſeparate the arena from the ſpectators; and where he, who exhibited the games, cauſed ſeats to be placed, which were taken away afterwards. In theſe amphitheatres was the orcheſtra, or ſeparation appointed to the ſenators; and in the moſt eminent place of it, ſeats deſigned for the emperor and all his family. After this, there were fourteen rows of ſeats for the Roman knights; and the plebeians took up the other places. Auguſtus covered the amphitheatre, for the pleaſure and convenience of the ſpectators, with embroidered ſilks of purple colour. And that nothing might be wanting to the ſatiſfaction of the people, he had built two large piazzas on the ſide of which were planted the moſt odoriferous and ſhady trees, which gave coolneſs and fragrance in the hotteſt days in ſummer.

Auguſtus, in reality, only repaired what had been damaged in theſe public edifices; but he corrected at the ſame time the diſorders which had got in, during the civil wars, of a confuſion of places, and that licence which they took of coming to thoſe great aſſemblies in a manner quite unworthy of the Roman majeſty. He ordered, in the orcheſtra, a place apart for the veſtals incloſed with balluſtrades, and another ſeparation for the Roman ladies, fixing a certain hour before which it was not permitted them to

come

come to the amphitheatre. He likewise ordered seats to be placed for the ambassadors, separate from those of the senators, and in a place less honorable, by changing the old custom which permitted them to sit confusedly with the patricians, because he had sometimes observed amongst those deputies persons of a very mean extraction. The senators children had likewise their places, both for themselves and governors, in a retired part of the amphitheatre. Cæsar hindered the soldiers from seating themselves with the Roman knights, as they had done during the civil wars; and he ordered one of them to be removed, who had disobeyed his command. On the contrary, he established the rights of this precedency in regard of those knights, who thought they had no claim to it by the poverty of their house, not suffering them to think any thing an infamy if it was not accompanied with their own fault. He assigned, likewise, an honorable place to the soldiers, amongst the plebeians; and distinguished all those who were married from those who were not, giving a preference to marriage before celibacy, as conducing to the safety and grandeur of the empire.

Having regulated places, he corrected the manner of their coming to those shews, ordering every one to appear in the richest cloaths, and most proper to his birth and employments, that his fortune permitted him; he forbad them appearing in a sort of

of ſurtouts which they wore in the ſtreets in bad weather, but were obliged to leave them at the enterance of the theatre; for he gave ſtrict orders to the ediles to take great care that nothing was connived at contrary to his commands or public decency. Thus the plebeians, Roman knights, ſenators, and magiſtrates always appeared in their moſt magnificent dreſſes. The emperor aſſiſted himſelf, clothed in his imperial robes, and the Roman ladies appeared in dazzling robes of purple, with a ground of gold, all covered with precious ſtones, and ornaments of eaſtern mines.

And as he knew the people were diſpleaſed that Julius Cæſar had ſhewn a contempt of theſe ſpectacles, oftentimes writing his diſpatches in the amphitheatre, he on the contrary had ſo much complaiſance for the people, every time he aſſiſted, that he appeared very attentive. He always came very regularly, unleſs his indiſpoſition hindered him; and in that caſe, he ſent ſome one of his family to fill his place and make his excuſes to the people. So that Cæſar's policy interwove itſelf with the people's pleaſures, amuſing them by vain pomps and ſplendor, that they might not join again in inſurrections and dangerous exerciſes. This is what a buffoon called pylades, very ſmartly obſerved; for the emperor one day telling him that his quarrels with Mæcenas's buffoon made all the entertainment of the

populace:

populace: it is proper, Cæſar, ſaid he, that we men of importance ſhould entertain them with our follies, for fear they ſhould think of better things.

It was in one of theſe ſhows that Cæſar gave an eminent proof of his preſence of mind, and intrepidity, when ſeeing the people frightened, and underſtanding that his fear was cauſed by a place of the amphitheatre which threatened ruin, where the ſpectators were all got up upon the increaſe of danger to take their flight, he quitted his own place, came to that ſpot where the danger was, and ſat him down, making the games to be continued till the concluſion: an action as wiſe as bold, becauſe by it he recovered the people's courage, and hindered that tumult, diſorder and precipitation, which in all probability would have drawn along with them the ruin and deſtruction of the amphitheatre.

At this time Cæſar had like to have periſhed by the conſpiracy of Cepion and Murena. The laſt was brother to Proculeius whom Cæſar had often ſent to Cleopatra, and brother-in-law of Mæcenas. This conſpiracy was diſcovered, and the alliances of the conſpirators did not hinder them from being puniſhed. Mæcenas, who loved his wife, told her of the informations that were lodged againſt Murena [b]. This woman, whom Auguſtus loved, begged of him to ſpare her brother;

[b] *Dion*, *Suetonius*.

brother; but her intercession had no effect, and Cæsar reproached Mæcenas, for his indiscretion. This was the only time, that this favourite gave his master a reason to complain of him. We may further observe that this refusal of Augustus to the wife of Mæcenas of her brother's life, shewed he was master of his affections, and that his policy had the ascendant over his passions. It was from the same principle that he suffered two very bold actions in Cepion, father to one of the accomplices. This Roman, without being frightened at the punishment of his son, gave liberty to one of his slaves, because he had endeavoured to save his master; and made the other be fixed to a cross, because he had betrayed him to the officers. The emperor was not sorry to see Cepion satisfy thus his grief, by the punishment of a slave, to the end he might think of no other vengeance.

It was at this time[c] that Augustus restored to the Roman people, Narbonian Gaul with the island of Cyprus, and took Dalmatia in exchange. After this he left Rome to visit Asia: but scarce was he departed when two prætorians, Lepidus and Silanus, stood candidates for the consulship, endeavouring to be preferred before one another. For tho' Augustus nominated most officers for public employments, he had

[c] *Year* 733, *Dion.*

left

left the people their liberty of chuſing conſuls in their comitia, becauſe thoſe Magiſtrates had no longer any power but what depended on his; and beſides when he pleaſed, he appointed who ſhould be conſuls too: ſo that the votes of the people were nothing but a vain ceremony. The conteſtation of theſe two candidates grew ſo hot that the aſſembly was broken up without any election, and the ſenate apprehending the conſequences of this tumult, ſent deputies to the emperor to deſire his return: and the two competitors likewiſe went to overtake him, that they might juſtify themſelves. He blamed both of them, and ſent them back, after having ordered them to leave the liberty of voting to the citizens and retire during the election; at the ſame time excuſing himſelf to the ſenate that he could not return ſo ſpeedily to Rome, being very glad notwithſtanding that theſe popular confuſions ſhewed them how dangerous was republican ambition. The diſpute of theſe two pretenders grew freſh again at their return, and the ſenate ſent a ſecond time to the emperor, who diſpatched Agrippa to Rome with the title of governor of the city; and to give him greater authority he married him with his daughter Julia widow of Marcellus, pacifying Octavia, tho' Agrippa was forced to divorce her daughter whom he had married. They ſaw that Mæcenas being conſulted about this

this alliance anſwered, that there was no medium, and that Agryppa was become too powerful to ſuffer any one to take that place; ſo that the emperor muſt either make him his ſon-in-law or put him to death. Agrippa being returned to Rome appeaſed the public troubles, and Lepidus was made conſul. There was a noiſe at this time in the city, about a temple which the Egyptians had conſecrated to their ſuperſtitions; for tho' the Romans permitted all ſorts of falſe religions, they could never be thoroughly reconciled to that of the Egyptians. Agrippa therefore ordered the temple to be pulled down in the city, but ſuffered them to build another in the ſuburbs.

In the mean time Auguſtus continuing his journey, after ſome ſtay in Sicily, came into Grece[d]. He took from the Athenians the iſland of Egina, to puniſh them for their too great affection for Antony; and forbad them for the time to come, to ſell the right of their city for money. From Athens he went to Samos, where he paſſed the whole winter. He departed in the beginning of ſpring, and came into Aſia. He viſited Bithynia, and all the other provinces; giving marks of his liberality and affection to thoſe he found in obedience, and chaſtiſing thoſe who had failed in their duty and ſubmiſſion. He remitted to the firſt thoſe tributes they

[d] *Dion*, *Plutarch*.

paid

paid to the empire, and doubled them to the others. But he treated more severely those of Dyscus, Tyre and Sidon, who had revolted, and had the insolence to crucify several Roman citizens, after having whipped them as common slaves; for he condemned them all to slavery, shewing by this that the Romans were not only free themselves, but that they had the freedom and liberty of others at their disposal. On the contrary, he established in their ancient splendor, the cities of Laodicea, of Thiatira, and those of the island of Chios, which had been ruined by an earthquake, and he therefore discharged them of all taxes for six years.

He received in Syria the ambassadors of Phraates, who came to renew the alliance, and brought him all the Roman prisoners which that king could find, after diligent enquiry over all his states. The emperor shewed both his justice and magnificence in this voyage. He gave to Herod the states of Zenodorus; he confirmed the son of the king of Arabia, in the possession of the kingdom of his Ancestors; maintained the young prince of Cilicia, in the states of his father; and, gave the lesser Armenia to Archelaus. But he took Comagena from its ancient princes, transferring it to Mithridates, to make him amends for the murder of his father, whom the last king of this country had put to death. And the people of the greater Armenia having risen in rebellion against their

their king Artabazus, Augustus sent for his brother Tigranes who was at Rome, and would have Tiberius to have the honor of re-instating him, and banishing Artabazus. But the Armenians dispatched their king before the arrival of Tiberius, who, notwithstanding, did not fail of attributing to himself the honor of defeating Artabazus, and making a conquest of the kingdom, tho' he had no other share in this revolution than assisting at the ceremony of Tigranes's coronation.

The emperor regulated in the tributary provinces all things, according to the equity of the Roman laws; and in regard of the allied provinces, he made an edict full of wisdom and moderation, which can never be sufficiently praised; for he ordered that the allies of the Roman empire should be maintained in all the extent of their estates and liberty, as long as they remained faithful; without its being lawful, under any pretence whatsoever, either of interest or glory to diminish any thing of them, or take from them the least place in their provinces.

Having thus travelled over Asia, he returned for Rome, keeping the same route all the way he had kept in going [e]. He repassed to Samos, where he received ambassadors who came from the extremities of the north and east; for the northern Scythians and

[e] *Year* 734, *Dion*, *Plutarch*.

the Sarmatæ [f], ſent to make him their compliments, and deſire his friendſhip; and the kings of Oriental Scythia, and the Indians, ſent him rich preſents of pearls and precious ſtones, aſſuring him of their affection, and deſiring his alliance. They likewiſe ſent him tygers, which had till that time been unknown to the Romans; with elephants, more beautiful than thoſe of Afric. Thoſe ambaſſadors ſaid they had been four years in their voyage, but that they were recompenſed for all their labors, by ſeeing the Roman emperor.

Auguſtus received other ambaſſadors from the queen of Ethiopia. We muſt tell the occaſion. The Ethiopians, ſome years before, had left the kingdom under the conduct of their queen Candace, to make war upon the Egyptians; not imagining they would have to do with the Romans, and not knowing, as they ſaid afterwards, there was a Cæſar in the world. They ſurpriſed at firſt, and pillaged the cities of Sienna and Elephantina, and ſome other frontier places; but Petronius, who was then governor of Egypt, ſtopt their progreſs, gave them battle, and defeated them; and entering, in his turn, upon their territories, he beſieged and took the city Primnis, ſituate upon the Nile near the iſland of Meroe, which was all ſurrounded by mountains of Sand, where

[f] *The Poles, Moſcovites and Tartars.*

the

the army of Cambyſes formerly had been buried in a tempeſt. From thence he paſſed to Tanape the royal city, where the children of their kings had their reſidence; took it, and diſmantled it. But not daring to go farther in a deſart country, where he ſaw nothing but burning ſands, he returned back again, after having built a fort and put a garriſon in it, to ſtop the inroads of the Ethiopians, As he returned from this happy expedition, he was informed that this fort was beſieged by the enemy. He therefore returned, defeated the Ethiopians, raiſed the ſiege, forced Candace to make a peace, and obliged her to ſend ambaſſadors to the emperor to ratify it. It was thoſe ambaſſadors who came to find Auguſtus at Samos.

The emperor returned from Samos to Athens, where he met with the ſame odd adventure that Alexander did in Perſia; for an Indian[g], in the retinue of thoſe ambaſſadors, would needs die, for this only reaſon, becauſe being old, his life was become a burthen to him; and, in imitation of Calanus, he ordered a funeral pile to be prepared, where he burnt himſelf alive with prodigious reſolution. Auguſtus himſelf not having been able to diſſuade him from his deſign, honored his uncommon funeral with his preſence, as Alexander had honored that of Calanus with his.

[g] *Zarmarus.*

From Athens Auguſtus returned to Rome, where, to avoid the ceremony of a public entry, he arrived by night, and came to his palace without any one knowing it. The following day the ſenate paid him all the reſpects and honor imaginable, declaring him perpetual conſul, tho' they continued, as uſual, to chuſe conſuls; and ordered that he ſhould be ſeated between theſe two magiſtrates in a curule chair, to ſhew his eſtabliſhed authority above them. They gave him likewiſe the arbitrary power of making laws, without communicating any thing with the ſenate; and they offered at the ſame time to take oaths, that they would obſerve them; but Auguſtus would accept of none of their oaths, knowing very well as a wiſe man the freer their obedience was the more it was to be depended on, and that the fear of perjury is but a weak tie to reſtrain men from treachery and ambition.

All troubles and diſcontent ceaſed at his arrival, and he had the pleaſure of being told, that his daughter Julia was brought to bed of a ſon, called Caius. He, after this, made a new reformation in the ſenate, which he would have reduced to the number of three hundred, according to its firſt inſtitution; but, not to make too many malecontents, he fixed it at ſix hundred. As they were making this reformation, one of thoſe whom they removed out of the ſenate, throwing open his robe, ſhewed the ſcars and wounds

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he had received in the republic; and a ſon, who had been continued in his degree of honor, with excluſion to his father, asked them to change their decree, and let his father be in his place. The emperor, moved with the reſolution of the firſt, and the filial piety of the ſecond, revoked thoſe two articles.

A little after this, there was a conſpiracy formed againſt Auguſtus and Agrippa [h]. Lepidus was ſuſpected of it, and his ſon had already been convicted and puniſhed for another conſpiracy [i], which rendered the father more ſuſpected. Notwithſtanding Auguſtus contented himſelf, with making him a ſharp reprimand in preſence of the people; yet he made reproaches to Labeo, who exerciſed the office of Cenſor, becauſe he had not ſtruck from the liſt of ſenators the name of a man who had been ſuſpected of conſpiring againſt the life of the prince; but Labeo frankly told him, that he had no inclination to remove from the ſenate a man, whom Auguſtus himſelf had continued in the office of grand pontiff. It was this Labeo, whom upon a propoſition of the ſenate of having ſome of their body deputed to watch for the ſafety of the emperor, plainly told them, that they might name whom they pleaſed for that care, provided he was not of the num-

[h] *Year* 735.
[i] *Dion*, *Suetonius*, *Plutarch*.

ber, becauſe he could not hinder himſelf from ſleeping. Auguſtus found his frankneſs and ingenuity more agreeable, than all the ſervile flatteries of the others.

The Gauls having revolted, and the Germans paſſed the Rhine, Cæſar ſent Agrippa amongſt them; who reduced the former to their obedience, and made the others repaſs the river. From thence Agrippa marched into Spain, upon advice he had received, that the Cantabrians who had been made ſlaves had broke their chains, murdered the Romans, and made a revolt over all Cantabria, which had taken heart, and driven moſt of the Roman legions from their garriſons. Agrippa made all poſſible haſte to extinguiſh this conflagration, and he had more difficulty in ſucceeding than he had at firſt thought. His ſoldiers mutinied under him; and refuſing to fight with enemies in deſpair, whoſe valor and courage they had more than once experienced, it was neceſſary for him to uſe all his ſeverity, and even brand with infamy that legion which bore the name of Auguſtus, forbidding them for the future to lay claim to that honor This rigor made the ſoldiers return to their duty, and he marched againſt the enemy and defeated them in ſeveral battles. The ſenate, by the order of Auguſtus, decreed Agrippa a triumph; but he refuſed it, either out of modeſty, or political prudence.

Agrippa,

Agrippa, upon his return [k], built ſeveral aqueducts, which brought the water of the Tiber into the City, and every private houſe; a work of a vaſt expence, but of much greater benefit to the public. He paid an honor to Auguſtus by it, calling thoſe conduits by his name, viz. Auguſtales. It was upon account of theſe waters, that the emperor ſaid with a kind of witty reproach to the people, who complained of the dearneſs of wine, "That his ſon-in-law had at leaſt tak-"en care that they ſhould not die of thirſt."

The following year [l] was remarkable, for thoſe regulations the emperor made, in regard of marriages; which are the true ſources or ſprings of all ſtates and families. He invited on one ſide the youth to marry, by the allurement of rewards, and his imperial benefactions; and, on the contrary, impoſed ſeveral ſevere penalties upon thoſe who continued without a reaſon in celibacy. Beſides, he puniſhed moſt rigorouſly all criminal converſe, that violated the marriage bed, permitting the injured perſon of the male ſex to ſtab the perſons found in adultery; and ordered, that thoſe who ſhould be convicted of a crime againſt nature, ſhould be puniſhed with the utmoſt rigor, without ſhewing favour to any one. He likewiſe forbad an inequality in marriages, that the ſplendor and diſtinction of families might be kept up,

[k] *Year* 736. [l] *Dion*, *Suetonius*, *Plutarch*.

which conſtitute the glory and grandeur of an empire.

It was not without a hot diſpute that Auguſtus paſſed this edict in the ſenate, with regard to marriages; all the recompences he annexed to that ſtate could not induce ſeveral from continuing ſingle, and the ſenators themſelves a long time oppoſed the penalties impoſed upon ſuch as did not marry, tho' in affluent circumſtances. Their principal reaſon was the licentiouſneſs and abandoned luxury, that was come to ſuch a pitch in both ſexes, that none could rationally promiſe themſelves happineſs in marriage, becauſe it ſeemed there was no ſuch thing as chaſtity in the world. By this kind of reaſoning, they indirectly blamed the emperor himſelf, who had ſet ſo bad an example by his own galantries; and begged of him to think of ſome proper means of re-eſtabliſhing continency and public modeſty, without forcing any one to marry; but, without being moved by their diſcourſe, he told them that that union, in which he lived with the empreſs, ought to ſerve them both as a motive and regulation of their conduct. Thus, in ſpite of all oppoſition, the edict paſſed and was regiſtered; but he made a more ample one afterwards, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place.

The ſame year Julia was brought to bed of a ſecond ſon, who was called Lucius. Auguſtus adopted him, as well as Caius his

elder

elder brother, receiving them from the family of Agrippa into that of Cæsar. He celebrated the same year the secular games, so called, because they were celebrated once in a hundred years, in memory of the foundation of Rome. And Horace, upon this occasion, made his famous ode, called Carmen seculare; the people flocked in great crowds to this ceremony, because they were to see it no more. Soon after this he took a journey into Gaul, carrying Tiberius with him [m]; whether he had advice of a revolt in that province, which never could be long quiet; or whether it was, that by the example of Solon he would give the people the liberty of murmuring in his absence at the severity of those laws he had established, without being under the necessity of revoking them. There were some who said, that he only took this journey to have his full freedom with Terentia, Mæcenas's wife, whom he carried with him, being passionately in love with her; and that he used this pretence to hide his criminal commerce from the eyes of the people, who would not have let slip the occasion of reproaching him, for first violating his own law, against adultery. Whatever was the truth, his journey was not useless. All those barbarous nations that inhabit towards the mouth of the Danube, having joined together had passed that river, and

[m] *Year* 738.

ravaged all Thrace, Macedonia, Sclavonia, Dalmatia and Pannonia. The Germans, being encouraged by these eruptions, had likewise passed the Rhine; and the Gauls, who were neighbours to the Germans, were ready to follow their example. Augustus, arriving in the beginning of these commotions, put himself at the head of his army, and marched directly towards the Rhine. The Germans, surprised at his sudden Approach, sent their ambassadors to ask a peace; with hostages for the ratification of the treaty. The lieutenant-generals at the same time defeated those Barbarians who had passed the Danube, and forced them to return to their countries with precipitation.

Augustus at his return found all Gaul in trouble [n]. The avarice of the governor was the cause of it, he was called Licinius, a Gaul by extraction, and set at liberty by Julius Cæsar, whose prisoner he had been in the wars. Augustus had afterwards given him the government of the province, not thinking he could give it to a man more agreeable to the people. But Licinius thinking of nothing but heaping up riches, made insupportable impositions, and amongst others, this is mentioned, that he multiplied the year into fourteen months, that he might increase, in proportion, the taxes that were paid monthly. The people demanded jus-

[n] *Year* 739.

tice

tice of the emperor, for the extortions of the governor, and he would probably have been ſeverely puniſhed to ſatisfy the Gauls, and ſerve as an example to others, if he had not had the policy, to put all his treaſures into the hands of Auguſtus; telling him that he had not got them together but to make him a preſent, and hinder the inſurrections of a haughty people, by reducing them to poverty. It is ſaid, by hiſtorians, that the ſea this year threw upon the ſhore a moſt extraordinary fiſh, which was ſixty feet long, and twenty broad, and had all the parts of a woman except the head.

The Retians, who inhabit that part of the Alps, called the Tridentine, from the name of a little town, which their defeat rendered famous, but is become much more ſo in the laſt age for its general council, having taken up arms againſt the Roman garriſon, Druſus marched againſt them and defeated them near Trent. He contented himſelf with the blood ſpilt in the battle, and impoſed no other penalty upon the revolted; but having riſen in arms a ſecond time, Auguſtus ſent Tiberius, joining in commiſſion with him Germanicus, and they conquered theſe barbarians in ſeveral battles, made them ſlaves and carried them out of the country, not leaving in it any more people than were neceſſary to cultivate the earth.

On the other ſide, the Ligurians, who inhabited the maritime Alps, and the Salatians having rebelled, were conquered by the lieutenants of Auguſtus, who ſome time after [p] built two cities, as a mark of that victory, and to keep the people in obedience, one in Liguria, which is the famous city of Genoa, and the other in the country of the Salaſſians, which was called Prætoria Auguſta. It is from this laſt appellation, that in following ages was formed the name Turin, which the capital city of Piedmont bears at this day [q].

The people of Pannonia revolted about the ſame time, and were conquered. The inhabitants of the Boſphorus mutined likewiſe, and refuſed to acknowledge, as their prince, him, who was ſent by Agrippa; for by the orders of Auguſtus, Agrippa had paſſed over into Syria, from whence he kept a watchful eye over the neighbouring provinces. Upon this occaſion there was a battle, the ſucceſs of which was favorable to Polemon; this was the name of the prince, but the enemy did not ceaſe to keep the field and be maſter of the ſtrong places; ſo that Agrippa was obliged to come in perſon with his army. He therefore advanced as far as Sinope, with a deſign of purſuing the rebels, and giving

[p] *Year* 740.
[q] *Dion*, *Plutarch*.

them

them battle; but they ſubmitted and received Polemon for their king. The ſenate decreed Agrippa a triumph; who refuſed it once more. This moderation in Agrippa, ſo often practiſed, gave occaſion to an edict in the ſenate, that for the time to come, no one ſhould have the honor of a triumph but the ornaments only. This obſervation is worth notice, that we may know in what period this magnificent ceremony ended, which made ſo much noiſe in Rome for ſeven hundred years.

Hiſtory relates at this time the actions of a freed ſlave, called Vedius Pollion, famous for his riches, and more ſo for his pride and cruelty. He lived commonly upon his own lands near Naples, whither Auguſtus ſometimes, went to take the pleaſure of a walk; one day as he ſat at table, one of the ſlaves in waiting flung himſelf at Auguſtus's feet, begging of him to obtain his pardon of Pollion, who had threatened to cut him in pieces and throw him to his fiſhes. This barbarous man fed his fiſhes in his large ponds with the fleſh of his domeſticks, whom he ordered to be put to death for the leaſt fault; this ſlave having committed no other, but the breaking by accident a cryſtal veſſel. The emperor could not obtain mercy for him by his intreaties, but ordering all the cryſtal veſſels in the houſe to be brought him, he broke them with his own hands to pieces.

Pollion

Pollion durſt not reſent this, and he was aſhamed to have deſigned to put a ſlave to death for having broken one of them by misfortune. The heightned pride of this haughty perſon appeared even at his death; for he made Auguſtus heir of his beſt lands, upon condition he would build a magnificent palace upon them, to ſerve as a monument of the liberality of the teſtator. The emperor took poſſeſſion of the lands, and under pretence of executing the will, he built a noble palace indeed, but upon the frontiſpiece, inſtead of engraving the name of Pollion, he put in golden capitals that of Livia, to whom he made a preſent of it. But we muſt return to our hiſtory.

Auguſtus eſtabliſhed three colonies in Gaul, before he departed, the firſt at Niſmes, the ſecond at Arles, and the third at Orange: after this he returned to Rome. The ſenate had ordered an altar to be built at the entrance of the court, which ſhould be conſecrated to the happy return of the prince [r]; and that thoſe criminals who preſented themſelves before him at his arrival, ſhould obtain a pardon of all their crimes. But Auguſtus refuſed both one and the other. He would not even ſuffer the people to meet him, but arrived late at night, that he might find no one in the ſtreets. He aſ-

[r] *Dion.*

cended

cended the next day the capital to thank the gods, and placed at the foot of the ſtatue of Jupiter thoſe laurels which he ordered to be taken from all his faſces. From hence he returned to court. Tho' he was incommoded by the gravel, and having found the ſenate aſſembled, he gave them an account of his journey, the narration of which was read by the quæſtor, becauſe his indiſpoſition hindered him from making a continued diſcourſe in public. This diſcourſe contained a regulation likewiſe which the emperor had made, in relation to the pay and ſervice of the troops. He gave to the prætorian bands double the pay of the others [a], according to that decree the ſenate had already made, and abridged the time of their ſervice, limiting it to twelve years, whereas it conſiſted of ſixteen for the legionary ſoldiers. But to pleaſe the ſenate, he diſtinguiſhed the children of the patricians from thoſe of other citizens by their military employments, permitting them to be tribunes of legions, or colonels in the Roman cavalry the very firſt campaign they ſhould make, which the others could not obtain but by degrees. And to make them more reſpected in the army, he granted them the privilege which Julius Cæſar had enjoined, of taking the manly gown; and Latus Calvus at the age of ſeven-

[a] *Dion, Plutarch, Suetonius.*

teen,

teen, that by this honor they might have a free enterance into the ſenate; for before this regulation they were not admitted but after twenty-five complete, and they remained in the condition of Roman knights, tho' they were the ſons of ſenators. Auguſtus therefore granted them this privilege, to make them more conſiderable in the army, when they were not to enter upon their employments, till they were diſtinguiſhed by the patrician purple, and had taken their places in the ſenate houſe.

The death of Lepidus happened this year, and put into the hands of Auguſtus the office of grand pontiff, whoſe power not only extended to all matters of religion, but he was likewiſe the ſovereign judge of political affairs; becauſe he had the right of breaking off aſſemblies either of the people, or ſenate, under the pretence of religion, of annulling the decrees, continuing peace, and hindering war. He likewiſe had an inſpection of all publick edifices, and particularly of the bridges at Rome, from which he took his name. Auguſtus who knew of what importance this office was, inveſted himſelf with it immediately upon the death of Lepidus: and his ſucceſſors retained this dignity, not only under paganiſm, but in ſome degree, even in chriſtianity, till the emperor Gratian, who entirely diveſted himſelf of all claim to that title out of a motive of religion.

Agrippa

Agrippa returned to Rome, a little time after Auguſtus [t]; but he was ſoon after his arrival obliged to leave it to go into Pannonia and appeaſe the troubles that were begun again there. The barbarians who feared his valor, begged a peace, and accepted of the terms he propoſed to them [u]. This was the laſt action of this great general, for returning to Rome, he was ſeized with a violent fever in Campania, where he died before Auguſtus could reach the place, who had left Rome upon the firſt news of his diſtemper. It would be difficult to expreſs the grief this death cauſed him: one may judge of it by that affection which he bore him during his life, and thoſe honors he beſtowed on him after his death. He ordered the body to be brought to Rome; where it was expoſed upon a bed of ſtate in the Forum of the city: and the emperor would himſelf ſpeak his funeral oration, during which he ordered a veil to be hung up, which concealed from him the body of Agrippa; whether there was ſome myſtery in this, or that he had a mind to remove from his ſight, an object capable of filling him with tenderneſs, and interrupting his diſcourſe. Let this be as it will, after having made him a magnificent funeral, he ordered his aſhes to be carried into the ſepulchres of

[t] *Year* 742. [u] *Dion, Plutarch.*

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the Cæſars, not willing that death itſelf ſhould break off their alliance. He himſelf would be the executor of his will, and added to the gift which Agrippa had made to the people of his gardens, great ſums of money, which he diſtributed at his own expence, and not by the appointment of the teſtator.

Agrippa left by this marriage four children he had had by Julia, Caius Lucius, Julia and Agrippina, and one poſthumous child, to whom at his birth Auguſtus gave the name of his father: and it was this unfortunate Agrippa, whom Livia baniſhed into a miſerable ſolitude, where Tiberius after the death of Auguſtus ſent aſſaſins to murder him, that he might aſſure to himſelf the empire. Caius and Lucius were adopted by the emperor, who ſurvived them. Julia was like her mother, but Agrippina joined chaſtity with the magnanimity of her father. She married afterwards Germanicus, ſo famous for his great actions, and that jealouſy which his uncle Tiberius had of him; and from this marriage came Caligula, who was afterwards emperor. Thus the poſterity of Agrippa ſaw itſelf upon the throne of the empire. They relate many prodigies which accompanied the death of this general, and which cauſed great deſolations in Italy. In particular they ſpeak of a meteor, which after having appeared for ſeveral days, burſt of a ſudden into ſe-

veral

veral fiery torches, and falling upon the city, set fire to several edifices in Rome.

The death of Agrippa brought Tiberius into the more intimate confidence of Augustus [w]; but the merit of his brother Drusus, soon after took the first place in the emperor's affections. It was not that Tiberius wanted qualities worthy of a prince; for he was valiant, and a great politician, and had he not been hypocrital and cruel, he would have deserved the empire after Augustus. He was sent into Pannonia, the people of which country had revolted, upon the news they received of Agrippa's death. Tiberius having entered into the country with his army, made a terrible ravage, burning and destroying all that he found in his passage. He defeated the army of the Barbarians, took away their youth, and dispersed them over the provinces of the empire, disarming intirely the rest of the inhabitants. The senate decreed him the honor of a triumph; but Augustus in observance of the decree that had been made, would have him content himself with the ornaments.

At the same time his brother Drusus, whom Augustus had left in Gaul to keep those fickle people in obedience, and watch the motions of the Germans, having heard that this last nation had passed the Rhine,

[w] *Dion, Plutarch.*

went

went to meet them with all expedition, obliged them to return, and entering into the province of the Sicambrians [x], laid waste their villages and adjacent fields. He embarked afterwards on the Rhine to gain the ocean, and landed in Friseland, where he had like to have perished with all his fleet, upon the banks of sand which are frequent in that sea, and very dangerous at low water. Yet he escaped by the assistance of the natives who were in his fleet; but winter approaching, he was obliged to put off his expedition to the following year, and returned to Rome where he was made prætor; this title being a step to ascend to the consulship. The spring being come [y], he took the field, passed the Rhine, beat the Usipetes [z], made a bridge over the Lippus, entered into Sicambria, ravaged the country which the Cherusces possessed; and he would have passed the Waser, if winter had not obliged him to finish his campaign. It did not fail of being very bloody. The Barbarians, who a little time before had murdered twenty Roman centurions in an irruption there made, whereby they had surprised the legions that were in garrison, they were so animated with this success, and came to the battle with such desperate resolution, that they brought chains to bind their pri-

[x] *Those of Gelderland.* [y] *Year* 743.
[z] *Those of Zutphen, and of Deventer.*

soners

ſoners, not making the leaſt doubt of victory. But Druſus gave them battle, and made ſuch a ſlaughter of them, that the country was bathed in their blood, and covered with the dead carcaſſes of the ſlain for the ſpace of two leagues. Thus thoſe chains the Barbarians had prepared, ſerved to bind thoſe of their own nation, who eſcaped the Roman ſword. Druſus, after thisvictory, ordered fifty caſtles to be built, upon the borders of the Rhine, the Meuſe, and the Weſer, to ſtop the inroad of thoſe ſavage northern people, who could not be intirely conquered; and having put garriſons in thoſe forts, he returned to Rome. In this march he run great riſque of being defeated by the Barbarians, who having placed themſelves advantageouſly in the defiles waited his paſſage; but coming to the battle in confuſion, they were ſoon thrown into irrecoverable diſorder by their own ſoldiers, who marched in cloſe ranks, and with undaunted reſolution; ſo that Druſus paſſing over the bodies of the enemy continued happily on his march.

It was in one of theſe expeditions, that he cauſed that famous canal to be dug which continues to this day[a], where the Rhine loſing its own name takes that of Iſſel, into which it diſcharges itſelf. They ſay this general likewiſe gave his name to the city Doeſbourg[b]. Druſus being returned to Rome,

[a] *Dion, Suetonius.* [b] *Druſilurgum.*

re-

received the honors of triumph, which Tiberius a little before had had.

There were great commotions this year in Thrace and Macedonia[c]. A certain person called Vologeses, a priest of Bachus, for whom the Thracians have a particular devotion, having made several assemblies under pretence of religion, and getting himself elected king in the room of Rascupolis whom he declared unworthy of the crown, he marched against him at the head of a powerful army, and gave him battle, in which this unfortunate prince was overcome, and lost his life. Thus the whole kingdom remained in the hands of the usurper, who likewise took Tauric Chesonesus from Rametalphus. On the other side, the Sialetes, who inhabit likewise Thrace, entered into Macedonia, and committed great outrages. Lucius Piso, the governor of Pamphilia, received Orders to march against both of them, beat the army of Velogeses on several occasions, received by composition those places which submitted themselves, and made slaves of the inhabitants of such as bore a siege. He delivered likewise the Macedonians from the inroads of the Sialetes, and pacified the province. He received for this happy success the ornaments of triumph, and there was an order for a public procession, and prayers in all the temples.

[c] *Dion.*

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The ſenate had a mind this year to erect ſtatues to Auguſtus[d], and the people over the provinces were for building him temples. But he would ſuffer neither the one nor the other. He refuſed likewiſe the preſents which the people would have made him on the firſt day of the year; but on the contrary would abſolutely have them receive from his liberality a donation equivolent to what they had deſigned to have preſented them with.

Tiberius married the following year[e], Julia the widow of Agrippa. This marriage made him doubly allied to the emperor, and gave new hopes of his fiery ambition[f]. It is ſaid however, that he had ſome difficulty to reſolve with himſelf, as well becauſe he knew the humour of Julia, who had made him great advances in the life-time of Agrippa, as becauſe that he loved his wife, whom he was forced to divorce on this occaſion. She was grand-daughter to that famous Atticus whom Cicero writ thoſe letters to, which the learned ſet ſo high a value on. Octavia died the ſame year, and was regretted, not only by Auguſtus, who loved her tenderly, but by the ſenate, and people, who reſpected her virtue, and were charmed with her goodneſs. The emperor's court put on mourning, and the ſenate decreed great honors to her memory.

[d] *Dion*, *Suetonius*. [e] *Year* 744.
[f] *Dion*, *Plutarch*, *Suetonius*.

It

It seemed now as if the emperor was[h] going to enjoy a profound peace, when on one side the Daci[i] having mutined, passed the Danube upon ice, and pillaged all Pannonia; and, on the other side, the Dalmatæ refused to pay their tribute. The Cattæ[k], leaving their colonies, took up arms and joined with the Sicambrians. Tiberius was sent against the two first, and Drusus against the others. They had both of them a happy success, and having conquered the Barbarians, they returned with the emperor, who had advanced into Gaul, ready to march himself towards the Rhine and Danube, had affairs deserved his presence. Drusus being made consul at his return, passed the year of his office at Rome; but scarce was it finished, when the revolts of Germany obliged him to return; and he departed from Rome with the title of proconsul, after the customary sacrifices[l]. Historians suffering themselves to be carried away by the spirit of superstition, which reigned in paganism, say, that the entrails of victims foretold nothing of good to this general; but that several prodigies seemed to foretel his misfortune, tho' he, dissembling or despising these threatening signs, repaired to his army, and marched against the enemy. They had taken the field with greater forces, than in all their other revolts, and threatened

[h] *Dion, Plutarch.* [i] *Transylvanians.* [k] *Those of Hesse.* [l] *Year* 745.

not

not only to withdraw themſelves from the Roman dominion, but to paſs the Rhine, and force from them the government of Gaul. Druſus often gave them battle, and did not overcome the Cattæ till after ſeveral bloody battles. From thence he went into the country of the Suevi [m], with whom he had ſeveral dreadful battles; but victory always declared itſelf for the Romans. He marched after this into the province of the Cheruſces; he ſubjected them as well as the others, and finding himſelf beyond the Weſer, he marched his army on the ſide of the Elbe, ravaging the whole country round him. Being arrived upon the banks of this river near its mouth, and overjoyed to ſee the Septentrional ocean, whither no Roman captain before had extended his glory, he had a mind to have paſſed further, but was hindered by a ſtrange prodigy, if we may believe the relation of hiſtorians [n]. For they tell us, that a woman of an extraordinary ſtature, and who in her barbarous air had ſomething majeſtic, having preſented herſelf to him as he was juſt going to embark, ſpoke to him in the Roman language to this purpoſe, "What deſign haſt thou to execute, "Druſus? haſt thou not acquired glory "enough, and wouldeſt thou paſs the Elbe "and ocean's bounds, which thy anceſtors "all their conqueſts never ſaw before? man-

[m] *Suabia.* [n] *Dion, Plutarch.*

"kind muſt learn to put limits to their am-
"bition: the gods will have thy glory and
"life terminate in the conqueſts thou haſt
"made." Druſus, ſtopt by this prodigy, went no further; but after having erected a trophy on the borders of the river, in the ſight of the ocean he led back his victorious army. But he had no ſooner regained the Rhine than he fell ſick, and died in his camp at the age of thirty, which his loſs made be called the deteſtable.

He was the laſt of Livia's children, which ſhe had by Claudius Nero her firſt husband°. She was big with child when Auguſtus married her, and was brought to bed three months afterwards; this was what made many believe Auguſtus was his father, notwithſtanding he let him continue in the family of the Claudians, to which he belonged by the appointment of the laws.

The ſoldiers lamented him as their father, rather than as their general, and raiſed for him a magnificent cenotaph upon the banks of the Lippus where he died; about which, ſeveral years after his death, the army which was in garriſon in thoſe quarters aſſembled on a certain day ſet apart for the ſolemnity; and the cities of Gaul ſent to make ſacrifices at the altar, which was erected near his tomb. The body was brought from the camp by the centurions and tribunes of the

° *Dion, Plutarch, Suetonius.*

army

army to a neighbouring city in Gaul, from whence it was transported in solemn procession by the most considerable citizens of the colonies, who received it from city to city, and discharged themselves of this office in the great Circus near the walls of Rome, where Augustus himself waited in person for the convoy. Tiberius had hasted with all speed to Drusus, whom he found fetching his last breath, and accompanied his body marching on foot all the way. The senate, and all the people who had a sincere affection for Drusus, came to meet the body in the Circus, where Augustus spoke a funeral oration. The body, after this, was carried into the Campus Martius, by the chief of the Roman knights and senate; where Tiberius had a second harangue in praise of Drusus, and his ashes were reposited in a golden urn, and placed in the tomb of the Cæsars. The senate [p] decreed him a triumphal arch, composed of marble, and erected to him magnificent trophies in the high road called Appian. They ordered likewise, that he should be honored with the name of Germanicus, or conqueror of Germany, and that his posterity should inherit this glorious title. He left by his marriage, with Antonia, two sons and one daughter; the eldest son bore the name of Germanicus by the senate's decree, and he deserved it a

[p] *Dion. Plutarch, Suetonius.*

ſecond time, by his exalted merit and victories: the younger, who had not his brother's worth, was yet more fortunate than he, for he obtained the empire under the name of Claudius. Some perſons ſuſpected Auguſtus of having haſtened the death of Druſus, becauſe he thought him too much inclined to the republican form of government; and Tiberius, who hated him, becauſe he knew that Auguſtus deſigned him for his ſucceſſor, produced a writing true or falſe, in which he treated of the methods to oblige Auguſtus to a reſtitution of the empire to the people and ſenate. But yet there is no probability that the emperor would have deſtroyed Druſus, for whom he had ſo ſtrong an affection, that he did not diſtinguiſh him from Caius and Lucius, his own grand-children: it being a certain thing, that in a will he named him in the ſame line with them, as one of his ſucceſſors: and, in the funeral oration which he ſpoke, there were inſerted theſe memorable words, which are ſincere and laſting monuments of his ſorrow, as well as of the merit of Druſus, viz. "That he begged of the gods they would give him as "glorious a period of life as they had done "to Druſus, and to all his young Cæſars "as high a degree of reputation." Beſides this, he compoſed his epitaph himſelf, which he ordered to be engraved on his tomb; and paſſed a whole year in mourning and ſoli-

ſolitude [q]. Nay, after his return to Rome, he was a long time without exhibiting any public games, as he was accuſtomed upon days of rejoicing, to which the ſenate was invited with the chief part of the Roman knights, and moſt diſtinguiſhed families amongſt the people; and ſeeking for diverſion to his ſorrow in the occupations of public buſineſs, he made new regulations in the ſenate, puniſhing by fines thoſe who abſented themſelves from court. To know them, he would have all the ſenators names written down in a liſt, and the abſent marked, without ſhewing favour to any one. He ordered, that there ſhould be no decree paſſed in the ſenate, unleſs there were four hundred ſenators preſent. The ſame was obſerved in thoſe reſolutions that were taken out of court, or when the tribunes oppoſed themſelves to the ſenators decrees. So that there was no public edict but what pleaſed Auguſtus, who had been created perpetual tribune.

He condemned likewiſe that ſhameful traffic for public employments, which competitors uſually bought in the comitia, with money; pardoning indeed the paſt, but reſtraining the candidates for the future, by obliging them to depoſite a certain ſum, which was to be confiſcated if they were convicted of bribery and corruption.

[q] *Year* 746.

He made laws likewise, to put a stop to the malice and revenge of men; ordering the accusers to prosecute immediately the defendants, and ordering them if they could not make good their plea, to suffer by the law of retaliation. In regard of other civil and criminal affairs, he recommended the expedition of them to certain commissaries, whom he appointed for the relief of the judges; and decreed, that no law-suit should last above thirty days, not allowing their commissaries any vacation but in the months of November and December, which were almost merely days of feasting and diversion for the Romans. He made three decuries of these commissions, which he drew from the body of the Roman knights; and added a fourth, which he chose in the first class of the plebeians, who had fifteen thousand livres a year; but these last were not employed but in affairs of less consequence.

He made an edict, with regard to slaves, which was approved of by very few people. It had been forbiden by the ancient laws, to put to the torture any slaves in question against their masters. He did not annul this ancient law, but he illuded it, by ordering that those slaves should be sold to the republic, or to the prince; that by this means belonging no more to the accused, they might be put to the question against him.

Tiberius

Tiberius was ſent this year into Germany, againſt the revolted people [r]; the greateſt part of them ſent deputies to Rome, but the emperor refuſed hearing of them, unleſs the Cattuares who inhabited along the Meuſe ſubmitted themſelves too. Theſe barbarians, being forced by their countrymen, laid down their arms, and ſent their deputies amongſt thoſe of other nations. The emperor, who knew there was neither oath nor religion which could bind them down to obedience, ſtopt their deputies, and diſpoſed of them in the cities of the empire as ſo many hoſtages. Several amongſt them, not able to bear captivity, laid violent hands on themſelves; and the Germans, more humbled by this treatment than if they had loſt ſeveral battles, were quiet for ſome years, but they revenged themſelves afterwards by the entire defeat of Varus. Auguſtus gave large donations to the ſoldiers, tho' there had been no battle, to the end that young Caius, who had made his firſt campaign at that time, and was about thirteen years old [s], might be rendered more acceptable to the ſoldiers. He honored likewiſe Tiberius with the title of Imperator, to inveſt him with greater honor and veneration, and render him properer to fill up the place which Druſus held in the government of the empire. Which confirms the remark we made before, of the prefe-

[r] *Thoſe of the county of Namur.* [s] *Dion.*

rence Auguſtus gave to Druſus above Tiberius.

The death of Mæcenas happened in a melancholy manner this year, and afflicted ſenſibly the emperor, who rather remembered thoſe important ſervices this miniſter had done him, than the indiſcretion he had in diſcovering to his wife the conſpiracy of Muræna. It was the great defect of Mæcenas, to have too much complaiſance for his wife, with whom notwithſtanding he was often at variance, but love always recovered its aſcendant; which made ſome of his contemporaries ſay of him, that he had been married a thouſand times [t]; alluding to the frequent reconciliations, as ſo many new contracts. As for the reſt of his character, whatever reſpect he had for Auguſtus, he took the liberty of reproving him, when he thought his actions were unjuſt; and one day when the emperor, being ſeated on his tribunal, was going to condemn ſome Romans to death, Mæcenas, not able to approach him by reaſon of the croud, flung in his tablets, where he found written theſe words [u]: quit the place, you butcher. Auguſtus was ſo filled with confuſion at it, that he deſcended immediately, and pardoned the criminals. Mæcenas made the emperor his heir, as if he had a mind to repay him at

[t] *Seneca.*
[u] *Dion.*

his

his death for all the benefactions he had received in his life-time.

The following year Caius and Lucius, who were but in the enterance of youth, formed intrigues for the consulship [x]: But the emperor gave them a sharp reprimand, adding, that being very far from designing, that himself should serve them for an example of asking the consulship at an age not allowed of by law, he begged of the gods that there might never happen a time when the public danger should make such an election necessary; besides, that he would not permit them to stand candidates for such high employments, till they had shewn by their conduct and moderation they were capable of them. Tiberius, not to inflame their jealousy, withdrew from court, and retired to Rhodes, after the example of Agrippa; who, not to give umbrage to Marcellus, had retired to Mitylene: but he did out of artifice, what Agrippa did out of a true principle of virtue.

It was in this retreat that Thrasylus foretold Tiberius that he should be emperor, and where Tiberius put the science of this astrologer to a strange proof; for he had formed the design of throwing him headlong from the height of the fortifications, where they were walking, if Thrasylus had not di-

[x] *Tacitus, Dion, Plutarch, Suetonius, years* 747, 748, 749.

vined his intention. Having then asked of him what he was thinking of that moment, this astrologer, who doubted perhaps of the design of Tiberius, whose barbarous temper he was acquainted with, cried out he was threatened with a great danger. Then Tiberius embracing him, assured him he had nothing to fear, and no more doubted of the verity of his prediction. Tiberius remembered when he came to the empire, all those who had visited him in his solitude, and he shewed them his gratitude for it.

Further, tho' his artful behaviour towards the young Cæsars was the principal cause of Tiberius's retreat, yet the debauches of Julia contributed a great deal to it. For tho' the emperor took all care to bring her up in the practice of virtue and chastity, by keeping her near the empress employed in some useful work, to hinder her from giving herself up to idleness and luxury; yet the empress, who was her good mother-in-law, and had a design to ruin all the relations of Augustus, to place her own by degrees in their stead, was very glad to see Julia abandon herself to the transport of her passions. This is the reason why she had such a vicious indulgence for Julia's galantries; and kept them secret, till she saw that this unfortunate young lady could never justify herself or make her perfect peace with Augustus. Besides the known examples which the emperor himself set, by debauching the principal women in Rome,

Rome, had far more power in corrupting the heart of his daughter, than all the affected lessons he could give her had to form her to honor and virtue. Add to this, the corruption was become so general in Rome, that scarce any one would marry, because they found chastity so rare in that state, and that there was scarce any true modesty or honor in either sex. As Julia was only fifteen years of age when she married Marcellus, and was a widow the second year after her marriage, history does not speak of her conduct in so early an age, but it acquaints us she was not faithful to Agrippa her second husband, tho' by a wise dissimulation he hid his shame, and the intrigues of his wife: nor was she more constant to Tiberius, whom she married after the death of Agrippa, and whom she had loved before she married. One knows not whether Tiberius answered her advances, or despised them; but they lived pretty well together the first years of their marriage, and Julia was brought to bed of a son, which made their union more entire. But this union did not last long; and the child dying in the cradle, Julia took no farther precaution to hide from Tiberius the violent passion she had for Sempronius, a man of an illustrious birth and pleasant conversation; and for this reason admired by Julia, the most constant and best beloved of all her adulterers. Their acquaintance began in the life-time of Agrippa, but was renewed afterwards

wards with ſo little diſcretion, that Sempronius with a kind of jealouſy irritated daily Julia againſt Tiberius, for whom ſhe had neither eſteem nor affection, and believed unworthy of her. The emperor, who was informed of this, either by Tiberius or Livia, baniſhed Sempronius into an iſland on the coaſt of Afric, whither Tiberius ſent perſons to kill him, after a baniſhment of fourteen years.

In the mean time Julia did not correct herſelf on this account, and for one lover they took from her, ſhe made herſelf ſeveral; keeping ſo little decorum in what ſhe did, that ſhe paſſed whole days and nights in dances and revels, with a company of young patricians, Roman knights, and ladies of pleaſure. Theſe diſorders obliged Tiberius to quit the court, but it was not without leaving good memoirs behind him for her ruin. In effect, the emperor being informed of her infamous life, conceived ſuch a horror and indignation at it, that not being maſter of his grief, he complained to the ſenate of the abandoned lewdneſs of his daughter, as being an eternal ſtain to the glory of his family. He puniſhed all the miniſters and accomplices of her debauchery, by putting to death ſome, and baniſhing others. There is a great deal of appearance that Ovid was of the number of the laſt; and that his Corinna, whom he repreſents in his verſes as a perſon of high birth, wit, beauty, and irregular

gular love[r], was the daughter of Augustus. Wherefore we are not to wonder, if he was no better treated than Sempronius. The emperor banished him into Sarmatia, where he died after having lived a long time with those barbarians, and was buried in the city of Tomos, the second year of the reign of Tiberius. Augustus treated Julia still worse than her adulterers; and he had such a contempt of this unworthy daughter, that some having told him, how one of her freed slaves called Phœbe had caused her own death, to avoid the shame and misery which her criminal complaisance for her mistress had exposed her to; he wished to have been the father of Phœbe, rather than of Julia. He banished her into the island of Pandatara in Campania; where she had nothing but bread and water to live on, and no one permitted to see her. Only Scribonia, her mother, who was still alive, had the permission to follow her for her greater grief or consolation. This first banishment lasted five years; after which she was transported to Rhegium, where she had no more liberty allowed her than in her other confinement; and Augustus, carrying his resentment even beyond the grave, forbad in his last will her being buried in the monument of the Cæsars. Tiberius was still more severe to her, after the death of Augustus, not paying her even that small pen-

[r] *V. lib. amor.*

sion

ſion the emperor had left her, that ſhe might not die of mere hunger and want of every thing neceſſary; ſo that ſhe periſhed in her baniſhment, by the moſt diſtreſſed poverty, at the age of fifty-one years, the firſt year that Tiberius came to the empire: a melancholy example of that ſea of misfortunes, into which vice without reins precipitates its followers, who give themſelves up blindly to its guidance. After all, the exceſſive ſeverity of Auguſtus only rendered his ſhame more glaring, and the vengeance of Tiberius fixed a laſting opinion of cruelty and diſhonor to his name.

The Parthians entered this year into Armenia [z], and poſſeſſed themſelves of the kingdom, in prejudice of that alliance which their king had renewed with Auguſtus [a]. This invaſion obliged the emperor to march his army on that ſide. He gave the command of it to young Caius [b], and he writ at the ſame time to Phraates, that he ſhould withdraw his troops out of Armenia, if he would not have a war with the Romans. This barbarous king was more offended with the ſubſcription of the letter, which had only the name Phraates, than with what it contained; and in the anſwer which he made to it, he took the title of king of kings,

[z] *Year* 750.
[a] *Dion, Plutarch, Suetonius.*
[b] *Year* 751.

without

without giving any other to the emperor than that of Cæsar. Notwithstanding he obeyed, shewing his weakness at the very time he gave the greatest proof of his pride.

These troubles being appeased [c], and the empire enjoying a profound peace, Augustus shut for the third time the temple of Janus. In this year is related the birth of the saviour of the world [d], the true author of everlasting peace. A little before this, Quirinus [e], whom Augustus had given for governor to the young prince Caius, and whom the sacred history mentions by the name of Cyrenius, made that poll of which St. Luke speaks, not only in Judea, but likewise over all Syria, of which Judea was then but an appendage. Augustus thought of nothing but of satisfying his vanity by this poll; but he fulfilled, without foreseeing it, the inscrutable design of God, who would by it manifest the family of Jesus Christ, according to the flesh, to be of the royal line of David.

Tiberius, who was then at Rhodes [f], having understood that prince Caius was returning to Rome from his expedition of Armenia, went on board a galley, and came to compliment him at Chios, with submissions of a more pompous nature, but they were

[c] *Year* 752.
[d] *Orosius.*
[e] *Dion, Plutarch.*
[f] *Year* 753.

nothing

nothing but hypocrisy. These were the last compliments he paid him [g]; for a little time after Caius died in Syria, and his brother Lucius died the same year at Marseilles [h]; where a fever stopt him as he was going into Spain. Whether their death was natural, or it was premature by the crime of their mother-in-law, is a thing quite uncertain; of which authors do not speak, but by conjecture. Their bodies were brought in great ceremony to Rome, and their ashes placed in the tomb of the Cæsars. The senate likewise ordered that a trophy should be erected to them in the grand chamber where the court assembled; and that there should be fixed at the top of it those bucklers of gold which the Roman knights had made them a present of the first year they could manage a horse.

Herod died a year before, soon after the massacre which he made of the children of Bethlehem. He was likewise stained with the blood of the Asmonians, whose throne he had usurped, and had got the right confirmed to him, first by Antony and then by Augustus. He even put to death his own children, and his innocent heroic wife Mariamne, one of the most beautiful and virtuous princesses of the age she lived in; but all her virtue could not save her from the

[g] *Dion, Suetonius, Plutarch.*
[h] *Year* 754.

unjust

unjuſt ſuſpicions of this jealous and cruel prince.

After the death of the two young Cæſars [i], Tiberius was recalled by Auguſtus, who adopted him, tho' Poſthumus Agrippa was ſtill living [k]. But his naturally ſavage temper made him unworthy of empire; and the aſcendant which Livia had over Auguſtus baniſhed him into the iſland of Planaſia, neighbouring to the iſland of Corſica. Auguſtus would have Tiberius adopt his nephew Germanicus, tho' he had a ſon by his firſt marriage; the emperor not chuſing that this ſon ſhould reign in prejudice of the children of Druſus. There came to Rome at this time a Jew, who ſaid he was Alexander the ſon of Herod, pretending a claim to the kingdom of his father; from whoſe cruelty he would have had it believed he had been privately withdrawn, and another ſlain in his place. The emperor took this impoſtor aſide, and ſo perplexed him by his queſtions, that he was forced to acknowledge the deceit. He was baniſhed for it and ſent to the mines.

Auguſtus, now ſeeing his empire eſtabliſhed, and every part of it in a profound peace, ſought to relax his mind from the weighty cares of his government, by the pleaſure he took in embelliſhing Rome with the moſt magnificent ſtructures; and marble and por-

[i] *Years* 755, 756, 757.
[k] *Dion, Suetonius, Plutarch.*

phery

phery-ſtone were employed by ſuch skilful architects, that the broken remains which we find of them at this day cauſe the admiration of our age, and are the models of deſign for the greateſt maſters. It would be tedious to relate here all the temples, palaces, and magnificent piazzas, which he built for the grandeur and convenience of the city. The principal were the temple of Mars the revenger, in the midſt of a large ſquare, decorated with lofty walls, and about which were ſumptuous apartments, where the ſenate was convened to deliberate upon affairs of war: the temple of Apollo, with a beautiful portico, where he erected a library containing the moſt choice volumes, both Greek and Latin, that could be found or purchaſed for money; having put under the baſis of this god's ſtatue the famous prophetic books of the Latin Sibyl in a casket of gold, after having burnt two thouſand volumes full of ſhocking ſuperſtitions. He likewiſe built the temple of Jupiter the thunderer, of ſo aſtoniſhing a fabric, that he employed four millions in the ſtructure of a chapel, and ſix hundred thouſand crowns in the decoration of the roof which were ornamented with all that art could uſe to make them brilliant, and to fill the mind with an idea of grandeur. He added to theſe buildings the porticos and temples of Caius and Lucius, of Livia and Octavia, and the theatre of Marcellus; doing thus an honor by his magnificence

nificence to his relations, and putting their names upon the frontispieces of these superb buildings. He made the square, where the market was to be, a little too small; because he would preserve the conveniencies of private houses, chusing rather his own design should fail in the rules of art, than those of equity. He likewise raised a great number of marble and brass statues, to all such as had made themselves famous by their glorious actions, and had deserved well of the republic. Upon which subject he had a custom of saying, that he could not shew too great an honor to good citizens; and that the empire did not furnish him with the power of a more agreeable expence, than that he employed in perpetuating and doing justice to their memory. He erected a fine statue of marble to Pompey, which had been thrown off its pedestal, and the enmity betwixt their families did not hinder him from doing justice to the merit of so great a man. Besides, he knew, that by raising the statues of others, he fixed his own the surer.

The inundations and fires which were frequent in Rome, during his reign, only served to give a relievo to his magnificence; for he gave by them quite a new form to this great city, and made of the greatest part of its houses so many palaces; upon which account he used to glory, saying, that tho' he had found Rome of brick he would leave it of marble. He cleansed the Tiber, and ordered

its

its channel to be opened, to hinder those inundations for the time to come; and he established a watch over the city, which he divided into fourteen districts, to hinder the frequency of conflagrations.

He took likewise care of the concerns of religion, and principally honored the vestal virgins with his esteem and benefactions: so that seeing the repugnance several of the nobility had to consecrate their daughters to perpetual chastity, he protested, that if his grand-daughters had but the age required by the statutes, which was above six and under ten, he would consecrate his own family with all his heart to so holy an employment.

The senate gave him at this time the name of father of his country. He had refused a year before that of master and lord; and had severely forbidden, that any one should dare to give him those names, either in public or in his family: but he received that of father of his country with such an exultation of joy, that he could not withhold his tears, whilst he thanked the senate in these terms: "After the honor you have done me, gentlemen, I have nothing further to wish for in life; and I shall die full of satisfaction, if I can preserve to the last moment of my life the glorious title you have conferred upon me to-day, without your ever repenting of your approbation."

The

The following year[1] Cornelius Cinna, descended from the daughter of Pompey, from whom he had inherited the name of great, because there were no more males of that illustrious family, would needs shew the world he had inherited the resentment with it, and formed a conspiracy against Cæsar. This conspiracy was much to be apprehended, upon account of the credit of him who was its head, and the number and quality of his accomplices. Severity appeared dangerous, and clemency not proper to stop the conspirators. Augustus passed all that day the conspiracy was discovered, in great disquietude; and could not sleep all the night, wavering betwixt revenge and mercy. The empress employed all her reason to incline him to mercy; and this last affection proving the strongest, he sent for Cinna the next day to his own chamber, and after having explained to him all the circumstances of his conspiracy, to convince him he was thoroughly informed of it, when Cinna expected nothing but the sentence of death, he spoke to him in this manner: "I pardoned "you before as my declared enemy, I par-"don you now as my designed murderer. "If you was insensible of my first favor, be "not so of my second; but let there be be-"twixt us a sincere friendship and reciprocal "amity." At the same time in the most

[1] *Year* 758.

benevolent

benevolent manner he gave him his hand, and declared that out of a cordial respect for him he would pardon all his accomplices, and propose him consul for the following year.

This truely imperial clemency disarmed all his enemies at once; and there was not afterwards the least thought of any attempt, against so generous a person's life. As for those injuries which only reflected upon the person or manners of the prince, he perfectly despised them; and Tiberius pressing him one day to punish a senator for a satyr, he answered him with a smile, "let them say "what they please, as long as they can do "us no hurt."

A little time after this he fixed the number of troops both by sea and land, which he judged necessary for the defence of the empire [m]; and he believed twenty-five legions would suffice, besides the prætorian bands which consisted of ten thousand, and the allied troops which almost equalled the number of the legions. Augustus divided these troops amongst different nations and provinces. He placed eight legions in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, to keep the Germans and Gauls in obedience; three in Spain; two in Afric; as many in Egypt; four in Pannonia and Mæsia; and two in Dalmatia. These were the land forces.

[m] *Dion, Suetonius, Tacitus.*

Those

Those by sea consisted of two fleets; one of which, composed of two hundred and fifty sail, was stationed at Ravennæ; and the other, of an equal number of vessels, equipt with oars and sails, were at Misenum, to guard the two Italian seas. To pay these armies the emperor established a fund, which he called the treasure of war; of which he had the superintendency with Tiberius, trusting the inferior management of it to commissaries, who received their directions from his authority. This fund was not only appropriated to the maintenance of the troops, but the paying likewise of the pensions of the veterans, who were in the colonies. He would not suffer the citizens to contribute to this, but he filled those coffers with taxes laid upon tributary kingdoms and provinces; and seeing this was not sufficient, he added the twentieth part of all such goods as fell to him by succession or testament. He established also at this time couriers all over the empire, to be quickly informed of every thing that passed.

The following year[n] Germanicus and Claudius began to appear, and gave a battle of gladiators to the people, who saw with pleasure the children of Drusus ready to enter upon employments; but Tiberius was meanly jealous of it, and fearing they might take that place in the emperor's affection

[n] *Year* 759.

which

which their father had held, he abſented himſelf very rarely, making it his pretence that affairs did not permit him to remove from Rome; he was, notwithſtanding, obliged [o] to march the following year againſt the Germans, who had made an inſurrection on the ſide of the Weſer and the Elbe [p]; but theſe troubles were appeaſed, without coming to blows. There was the ſame year ſome revolts in Africa, where the Getulians could not bear the government of their king Juba. Cornelius Craſſus gave them battle, and defeating them, made them return to their obedience.

But the commotions of Dalmatia and Pannonia were more dangerous. Severus, governor of Myſia defeated the rebels upon the borders of the Drave, but the victory coſt him very dear. The enemies, who knew it did not loſe heart, and having ſent for ſuccour amongſt their neighbours, they ſet on foot a powerful army, with which they made inroads into thoſe territories which are extended along the ſea as far as Apollonia. Severus gave them a ſecond battle, without its being known to which ſide the victory inclined; and this governor having been called back into his province, to repel the Dacæ and Sauromatæ who had entered into it, Auguſtus ſent Tiberius into Pannonia. He had

[o] *Year* 760.
[p] *Dion, Plutarch.*

ſome

ſome rencounters with the enemy; but he could not draw them to a general battle, nor hinder them from ravaging Thrace and Macedonia. Auguſtus, being ill ſatisfied with his conduct, ſent Germanicus into his place, who was then in his twentieth year. This heroic young general defeated the army of the Dalmatæ, and obliged them to ſubmit to the Roman yoke the following campaign.

There was this year a great ſterility, but the emperor provided ſo well for the neceſſities of Rome and Italy, that corn did not fail; and that there might be more plenty for the citizens, he made ſlaves and ſtrangers go out of the city, with exception to phyſicians and preceptors of youth, to whom he always ſhewed a particular regard [q].

Germanicus opened the campaign [r] with the ſiege of a fortreſs, whither the barbarians had retired; after having pillaged the lands of the empire, and made himſelf maſter of it [s]. The famine was ſo general, that it obliged thoſe who kept the field to ask peace. Their general came himſelf to treat with Germanicus, and they ſay that being asked why he had drawn upon him the Roman arms, he anſwered without emotion, "that this ca-"lamity came from the infatiable avarice of "the Roman governors; and that the em-

[q] *Suetonius.*
[r] *Year* 761.
[s] *Dion, Plutarch.*

"peror, instead of sending them shepherds "and faithful dogs to protect them, had "sent them misers and wolves to devour "them." The peace was concluded[t]; but these barbarians did not keep it long, for the year was scarce ended when they revolted. Augustus having the news of it, marched as far as Rimini; from whence he dispatched his couriers to the army, to be better informed of the state of things, and resolving to pass into Dalmatia, if his presence was necessary; but he soon learnt that Germanicus had gained an absolute victory over the enemy.

Augustus, after this, returned to Rome, where he would have observed the order he had issued out against celibacy; which remained without execution by the obstinacy of some, and debauchery of others. He convoked the people, the Roman knights and the senate, placing on one side those that were married, and on the other those who were not. And seeing the number of the last much superior, he shewed a great sorrow and indignation at it: then addressing himself to the first, he spoke to this effect: "What a pleasure is it to me, gentlemen, "to see you who are the hope of the re-"public, and who by being fathers of "families, are so many generous fathers of "your country. You have obeyed the ex-

[t] *Year* 762.

"hortation

"hortation I made you of ſeeking in chaſte
"marriage the lawful pleaſures of the ſtrict-
"eſt tye upon earth, and you correſpond
"with the intentions of that eternal intel-
"ligence, who has pre-ordained, that po-
"ſterity ſhould continually deſcend from
"fathers to children; and we thereby give
"no other bounds to the duration of our
"empire, than thoſe of endleſs eternity."
Then turning towards the others, he ſpoke
to them in this manner: "but, what ſhall I
"ſay to you, to you who are ſo far from
"deſerving the name of Romans, that you
"do not deſerve the name of rational men.
"You are a ſhame to nature, as well as
"ungrateful to your country; and you
"fruſtrate both of the hope which both
"might expect from you. Where would
"you have been, or where would have been
"the Roman glory, if your forefathers had
"done as you do? we ſhould all of us have
"been ſtill in the womb of time; and as for
"any thing you do to the contrary, the
"whole republic may fall into a ſtate of
"annihilation. Is it becauſe the cares of
"marriage frighten you, tho' they are ſo
"greatly recompenſed by the pleaſures of
"ſo ſweet a union? or is it, that in imita-
"tion of the veſtals, you would paſs your
"days in holy virginity? if this be ſo, pre-
"pare yourſelves to imitate them in their
"purity, or you will oblige me to inflict
"upon you thoſe puniſhments which are

"due to those who are guilty of such ir-
"religion [n]."

After this discourse, he distributed rewards with imperial magnificence to those who had children, manifested his favor to such as had not, praising them at least for having done their duty, and encouraging them to hope well. But he treated rigorously those who refused to marry, and made them pay to the utmost all those taxes he had settled by his edict. He retouched the same year [x] this law, in the consulship of Pappius and Poppæus. This was the reason that this law bore those consuls names, tho' Augustus was the author of it. Arcadius and Honorius, two Christian emperors, afterwards abolished this law, in regard of that necessity it imposed upon mankind.

At this very time while Augustus was making laws for the regulation of families and conjugal fidelity [y], he had the displeasure to see his own house sullied by the lewdness of his grand-daughter Julia, who led a most infamous life, in imitation of her mother. The emperor banished her, as he done the other.

There is mentioned the same year, the condemnation of Archelaus, accused by the Jews of injustice and violence. The senate, by the advice of the emperor, deprived him

[n] *They were buried alive.*
[x] *Plutarch, Dion, Suetonius.*
[y] *Year* 763.

of

of his tetrarchy; and sent him into banishment, to Vienna upon the Rhone. Thus Judea was reduced to a tributary province, and annexed to Syria.

Whilst those things passed at Rome, Germanicus besieged Rhetinum [z], in Dalmatia. The enemies, after having set fire to the town, retired into the citadel; whither the fire having communicated itself, they were forced to go out by night, after having destroyed themselves one of their best places.

The army marched afterwards against another place [a], which Tiberius had besieged a year before, but could not take it. Germanicus was more successful; and, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance of the besieged, whose very women stood upon the ramparts sword-in-hand, he made himself master of it. Augustus, fearing the consequence of this war, sent Tiberius with new forces to the succour of Germanicus; and after many sieges and many bloody battles, in which there was a torrent of blood shed, but the success always remained on the side of the Romans, they obliged these barbarians to submit. But this joy was tempered by their grief for the defeat of Varus.

This happened by the general's fault, whose sordid avarice made all Germany revolt, and his imprudence gave up himself

[z] *Year* 763.
[a] *Retzuns.*

and army to the enemy. The Germans began to be accuſtomed to the Roman government, by degrees formed themſelves according to their laws; and leaving the ſavageneſs of the woods, in which they had lived before like brutes, cultivated lands and built cities. Yet they had not loſt the deſire of liberty, ſo natural to theſe people, which nothing has hitherto been able to blot out of their hearts. Varus, who came from a government in Syria, whence Auguſtus had called him into Germany, would exact of this warlike nation the ſame ſervile laborious tribute, which he drew from the Syrians, a people ſunk in luxury, and born as it were to ſlavery. The Germans in vain alledged their privileges, which Varus would take no notice of. But tho' they ſeemed to conſent by force to theſe impoſitions, they negotiated a league with their neighbours, for the ſupport of common liberty. This confederacy being ratified, they obliged Varus, under different pretences, to ſeparate his troops; and when they ſaw he had no more than three legions with him, they made the moſt diſtant nations riſe in rebellion, without appearing themſelves to be of the party. This imprudent general marched againſt the revolted, only leaving behind him a few cohorts, in a country where he thought he had nothing to fear. But when the Germans underſtood he was entangled in woods, and marſhy grounds he had to paſs through,

they

they maſſacred the troops he left behind; and, attacking him in the rear, under the conduct of Arminius whom they choſe for their general, they cut the legions in pieces. Varus did all he could to repair by his intrepidity, and fixed valor the fault of his imprudence; and ſeeing that all was irrecoverable and deſperate, he ſtabbed himſelf to avoid diſgrace. Many of the Roman officers followed his example; the others, with their ſoldiers, had no mercy ſhewn them; excluſive of a ſmall number, whom Aſprenas had the humanity to ſave. Arminius had been trained up in the Roman ſervice; and Auguſtus, who eſteemed his valor, had made him a Roman knight; but preferring the liberty of his nation, to this vain ſeducing honor, he had conſented to be head of the league, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of Segeſtus his own uncle, who remained faithful and obedient to the empire. Arminius, after this expedition, entered triumphantly into the principal towns, ordering the Roman eagles to be carried before him, which he had taken in battle. All Germany revolted after this exploit, and was afterwards the glorious theatre of Germanicus's heroiſm. But this happened after the death of Auguſtus.

The emperor, who was now old, was ſo ſenſible of this loſs, that he tore his royal robe when he received the news, and never received a perfect comfort for it as long as

he lived; but was often overheard to say, Varus, restore me my brave legions. Yet he did not abandon the care of the empire; but he ordered new troops to be raised all over Italy, and would have the veterans inlisted again; nay, made use of freed slaves, as in a war which he thought endangered the republic.

The following year [b], Tiberius, after having dedicated the temple of Concord, in gratitude for that perfect union which was in the Imperial family, of which he was the head, passed into Germany with Germanicus, to observe the enemy and give them battle, if they could find a favorable occasion; but they did nothing considerable in this campaign, and returned to Rome, after having sent their troops into winter quarters.

Philip, one of the sons of Herod, beautified a city that was built near the source of Jordan, and gave it the name of Cæsaria. This is that city which the Evangelists call Philippine-Cæsaria, to distinguish it from Phænician-Cæsaria, which Herod had built before.

During this new convulsion of the world, Augustus [c] beginning to feel the inevitable inconveniencies of old age, being seventy-four, desired of the senate that they would not take it amiss, if he should put in execution

[b] *Year* 764.
[c] *Year* 765.

the

the design he had of passing the remainder of his days in retirement; recommending at the same time, in the most affectionate manner, the whole senate to Tiberius, and Germanicus to the senate.

For twenty of the preceding years his frequent indispositions obliged him to seek from time to time relaxation and amusement in solitude; for he was unhealthy, subject to the gravel, and of a constitution so delicate, that he did not preserve his life but by a great sobriety. Prænestæ, Tivoli, the neighbourhood of Rome, Baiæ and Capreæ in Campania, were the places he took most delight in [d]; often going on foot, and sometimes carried in a litter, through beautiful alleys that terminated at the sea, or through odoriferous groves which he caused to be planted, full of myrtles, laurels and bays, and other sweet and agreeable trees. He would have no pompous buildings there, but nature in all its simplicity; and his grand-daughter Julia having erected a palace, he ordered it to be pulled down; because, tho' he would divert himself as a man, he would have nothing magnificent in the country.

He always carried with him some wise and good philosophers, loving the conversation of learned men, always distinguishing them, and was very learned himself. It is upon this account that there never was an age in which

[d] *Plutarch, Dion, Suetonius.*

the ſciences were more flouriſhing, becauſe there never was one in which they were ſo encouraged; Mæcenas making it his delight to introduce learned men at court, and the emperor of loading them with magnificences. Valerius Maximus, and Titus Livius, were two of the moſt conſiderable; the firſt of a patrician family, and known by his treatiſe on remarkable words and actions, which he did not publiſh till after the death of Auguſtus, and dedicated it to Tiberius. The ſecond famous author, was a ſimple citizen of Padua, but had made himſelf famous by his noble hiſtory of the Roman commonwealth, tho' ſome do not find his ſtile ſufficiently pure; but think they perceive a blemiſh in it, derived from his country [e]. Ovid, Virgil, Horace, the firſt of an ancient family amongſt the Roman knights, and the two others of low birth, lived at the ſame time; three poets of an unrivalled reputation in their different kinds. Ovid, of bright imagination, copious and learned in all antiquity, not perfectly correct, but too free in his verſification, wanton in his deſcriptions, and amorous in his ſentiments to a degree of licentiouſneſs, or rather debauchery. Virgil, wiſe, ſweet, elegant, modeſt, and of inimitable harmony in his verſification; eaſy in his eclogues, brilliant in his georgics, and elevated to the height of ideal heroiſm in his eneid;

[e] *Sapit patavinitatem.*

ſpeaking

ſpeaking with as much purity in the language of the groves, where he was brought up, as the greateſt men of the world, with whom he converſed: admirable in his invention, and the moſt perfect model of all poets. Horace diſtinguiſhed himſelf by politeneſs, of an admirable delicacy and ſublimity in his odes, poignant in his ſatyrs, of the moſt exact judgment in his art of poetry, and agreeable in all his works.

Auguſtus made a regulation in his retirement, concerning the proſcribed [f], who ventured to take too much liberty. For he forbad them, who were baniſhed to the iſlands, to return again to the continent; but ſuffered them to paſs from iſland to iſland, to have a galley for themſelves and two other ſhips for their equipage. He regulated their retinue to the number of twenty ſlaves to wait on them, and fixed their annual expence at twelve thouſand crowns a year.

The death of Auguſtus approaching [g], and finding himſelf fail, he would be carried into Campania; where he diſpoſed himſelf to receive death with tranquillity, paſſing the days in the agreeable ſolitudes of this beautiful country, which is divided into a thouſand diverting landskips along the Tuſcan ſea. His diſtemper increaſing he retired to Nola, where he was obliged to betake himſelf to

[f] *Year* 766.
[g] *Year* 767.

his

his bed. He knew he ſhould never get up from it; but, without being terrified at death, he paſſed his time in philoſophic converſations, upon the vanity and emptineſs of all human things; and calling his friends into his room the very day he died, and looking at them with a ſerene countenance, he ſaid, "What think you, my "friends, have not I played my part well "on the great theatre of the world, and do "not I finiſh the laſt act agreeable to my "character? do not afflict yourſelves for "my death, but endeavour to imitate what "was good in me." He breathed his laſt ſoon after, folded in the arms of Livia, in ſpeaking theſe words: "farewel, Livia, and "remember our mutual love as long as "you live."

There is however one hiſtorian [h], who ſays that Livia was ſuſpected of having poiſoned the emperor with ſome figs, which he loved; upon account of a viſit he had made to Agrippa in his exile, which proceeding Auguſtus had concealed from her; and this ambitious woman having come to the knowledge of it, and fearing the repeal of Agrippa's baniſhment, who might have excluded Tiberius, ſhe poiſoned her husband for the ſecurity of her ſon's ſucceſſion.

[h] *Dion.*

The

The death of the emperor was foretold, as the chief historians [1] say, by a total eclipse of the sun, which lost all its light for some hours. His body was brought from Nola to Rome by the first magistrates of the province, and received by the Roman knights, who waited for it at the city gates. The senate assembled, in an extraordinary manner, in the Campus Martius, where all was prepared for the solemnity. Tiberius, and his son Drusus, appeared in deep mourning, and took their places as princes of the senate. Such senators, as had no employments, appeared in the dress of Roman knights, without any purple; and the magistrates in the dress of senators, without any ornament. Next came the funeral pomp. One first saw the bed of state, upon which was laid the emperor's body, which was carried from the palace supported by Roman knights. This bed was composed of ivory, enriched with gold, and covered with a cloth of purple, with a golden ground. The body was inclosed in a coffin, that was not seen; but they had made a representation in wax, which expressed to the life the statue and air of the emperor, cloathed in all the magnificence of his imperial robes. Two other representations appeared at the same time, coming from two other parts, and in a different manner of procession. The one,

[1] *Plutarch, Dion, Suetonius.*

which

which was worked in gold, came from the court; and the other ſtatue, from the triumphal gate, upon a ſuperb chariot in all the ſplendor in which Auguſtus entered Rome, after his ſucceſsful victories of Actium and Alexandria. The children of the patricians of both ſexes marched in the firſt place, ſinging funeral canticles; and the image of Victory, which had been taken on this occaſion from the capitol, appeared at the head of the convoy. One ſaw after this the pictures of all Auguſtus's anceſtors, from Octavius his father as high up as Romulus the founder of Rome. The picture of Julius Cæſar was not amongſt the reſt, becauſe he had been reckoned amongſt the number of the gods; but Pompey's was ſeen, for whoſe alliance Auguſtus always ſhewed a reſpect, notwithſtanding the deſtructive quarrels, which ambition had cauſed in their families. The conquered nations came next, deſcribed in large pictures; with the dreſſes, air and manners of every country. This pomp was attended by more than a million of perſons, who followed it. The funeral bed, where was the body of the emperor, was raiſed to ſight upon a tribunal, built expreſly above the ſeats of the ſenators. After this, Tiberius cauſed Auguſtus's will to be read by one of his freed ſlaves, wherein he himſelf was named heir of the greateſt part of his eſtate, and Livia for the overplus. The legacies came next; the

the emperor gave to the Roman people four hnndred ſeſterces a head, a thouſand ſeſterces to each of his guards, and three hundred to each perſon in the legions; which amounted all together to ſeveral millions. There were likewiſe legacies to his friends, to his allies, and even to ſeveral perſons who had no relation to him, either of parentage or friendſhip; there were alſo gratuities for the greateſt part of the ſenators, for the Roman knights, and allied or tributary kings of the empire. He charged likewiſe his heirs with the reſtitution of all ſuch goods as had fallen to him by ethers wills, which he would have reſtored to the children of the donors, with full intereſt. He excuſed himſelf at the end of his will for the ſmalneſs of his legacies, on account of his treaſures being exhauſted; declaring, there only remained five millions of pieces of gold for his own family, tho' he had received by inheritance above eighteen millions of crowns by the teſtamentary donations of thoſe who had died without children; having employed all thoſe riches in the neceſſities and for the ſecurity of the ſtate.

After the public reading of this will, they produced four journals written by the hand of Auguſtus himſelf: the firſt, concerned the care of his own funeral; the ſecond, the principal actions of his life, which he wiſhed might be engraved on columns of braſs; the

the third, made mention of the ſtrength and employments of the empire, of the provinces, armies, fleets, tributes, and all the public revenues; and, the fourth contained thoſe inſtructions which he gave to Tiberius and the ſenate, about the beſt method of maintaining the ſplendor and tranquillity of the empire. He exhorted them to this end, to preſerve the nobility and purity of the Roman blood unmixed, by communicating rarely the right of citizen to any ſtranger, and very rarely to any ſlave: laſtly, to confine the empire to theſe bounds he deſcribed; the ſea and pillars of Hercules [k], to the weſt; the Euphrates to the eaſt; the cataracts of the Nile, and the deſarts of Africa to the ſouth; with the Rhine and Danube on the north.

This being finiſhed, Druſus made a funeral oration, which Tiberius accompanied with a diſcourſe mixed with the praiſes of Auguſtus, and regretting the loſs the publick had of him, which cauſed a flood of tears amongſt the hearers; but did not ſpeak of a ſucceſſor, altho' he had already poſſeſſed himſelf of the empire, by making ſure of the armies, and diſpatching couriers to the remoteſt provinces. The aſhes of Auguſtus were gathered into an urn of gold by the Roman knights barefooted [l], and covered

[k] *Streights of Gibraltar.*
[l] *Suetonius.*

with

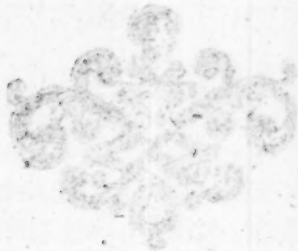
with mourning. After this, they were carried to an elegant Mausoleum of white marble, which the emperor had built himself betwixt the Tiber and Flaminian way, embellished with agreeable groves and fragrant walks, that the Romans might still honor him after his death, and take a pleasure in visiting his tomb. The senate, by a solemn decree, numbered him amongst the gods, and Livia would be his priestess; taking upon her the care of sacrificing to him, whose days perhaps she had shortened!

Thus died Augustus: a happy prince, and an unfortunate father! he conceived a design of seizing and settling the shaken empire, at the age of nineteen years; succeeded in this grand view before thirty-four; and left it flourishing and strong at the age of seventy-six, with his life. He was valiant, and despised danger; but wise, and undertook nothing without good reason; naturally vindictive, but merciful out of policy, or perhaps philosophy; extremely grateful, modest in appearance, honoring chastity, and greedy of glory; magnificent in public, of a careful œconomy in his own house; diligent in distributing justice, and vigilant in making the laws be observed; admiring all virtues in others, and even inforcing a necessity of them by his edicts; but practising only in appearance the virtue of chastity himself. His principal quality was political prudence; by this he regulated his designs, and

it exceeded all his other qualities. Yet he failed in this, in the moſt conſiderable circumſtance of his life, when he divorced Scribonia; for ſhe would have probably left him heirs of his own blood, becauſe he had a daughter by her the very firſt year of their marriage. But he was ſo inchanted with Livia's perſon and inſinuating manners, that he would marry her; tho' ſhe had no children by him, and probably deſtroyed thoſe of his daughter. He paſſed the bounds of juſt rigor in his treatment of Julia and Poſthumus Agrippa, furniſhing himſelf the means to ſtrangers of putting themſelves in the place of his children.

Thus Auguſtus, eſtabliſhing his empire by his prudence, and overthrowing his owu houſe by his weakneſs, is a memorable example to us; that it is more eaſy to conquer others, than to overcome our own paſſions.

FINIS.



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